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THE FIRST OF EMPIRES







**KHAMMURABI RECEIVING THE LAWS.**

*[Frontispiece.]*

THE  
FIRST OF EMPIRES

"BABYLON OF THE BIBLE"  
IN THE LIGHT OF LATEST RESEARCH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE EMPIRE, CIVILIZATION, AND HISTORY OF  
THE ANCIENT BABYLONIAN EMPIRE, FROM THE  
EARLIEST TIMES TO THE CONSOLIDATION  
OF THE EMPIRE IN B.C. 2000

BY

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN

AUTHOR OF

"FROM UNDER THE DUST OF AGES," "HEBREW TRADITION IN THE LIGHT OF  
THE MONUMENTS," "BRITISH MUSEUM LECTURES," ETC., ETC.

"But aught beyond traditions oral tale,  
Or gleams of truth like wavering moonlight pale,  
The Arab knows not, though around him rise  
The sepulchres of earth's first monarchies."

*Newdigate Prize Poem, 1851, by ALFRED W. HUNT*



LONDON AND NEW YORK  
HARPER & BROTHERS  
45, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

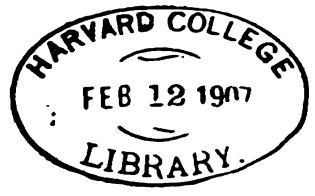
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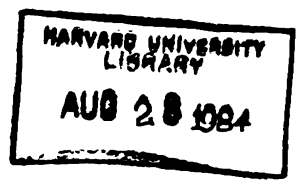
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THIS WORK IS DEDICATED

TO

THE LOVING MEMORY OF MY FATHER

WILLIAM HENRY BOSCAWEN, B.A.

VICAR OF HANMER, FLINTSHIRE, 1852-1870, AND RECTOR OF  
MARCHWIEL, DENBIGHSHIRE, 1870-1883

FROM WHOM I FIRST LEARNED THE CHARM OF THE STUDY  
WHICH HAS BEEN THE ONE OBJECT OF MY LIFE

" Let the wise and understanding ponder on them together,  
Let the father repeat them and teach them to his son."

EPILOGUE VII., " CREATION " TABLET



## PREFACE

IN placing this work before the public, some few words of explanation as to its scope and intention may be necessary.

In the world of Oriental research, during the last half century, the labours of the explorer and the decipherer have produced such astonishing results as to revolutionize all our former ideas as to the true nature and character of Oriental nations. The work of the spade in Egypt, in Chaldea, and in the nearer East have produced evidence of civilizations, organized communities and empires of widespread influence totally undreamt of but a few years ago. The activity of the explorer, supplemented by the patient labours of the decipherer, has given to the mystical and fabulous East a concrete reality totally unexpected ; and from the buried libraries of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt have come the treasures of a literature which, even the most prejudiced critic is compelled to admit, demand a careful consideration in the reconstruction of the Old World's story. The chief triumph of this resurrection of the buried past has been the recognition of the claims of Assyriology, and of the fact that in the ancient libraries of Babylonia and Assyria were stored priceless works which formed the first editions of those which we had hitherto regarded as the sole chronicles of human origins.

The triumph of Assyriology began with the discovery, by the late George Smith, of the Chaldean account of the Deluge, in the year 1872. Hitherto the study of the cuneiform records had been confined to a small band of English and Continental scholars; and the few historical records, which afforded synchronisms with the Hebrew records, such as the mention of the tribute of Jehu on the famous Black Obelisk in the British Museum, or the account given by Sennacherib of his siege of Jerusalem in the reign of Hezekiah, had excited some considerable interest among Biblical students: but the idea that Assyrian literature would become an important factor in Hebrew criticism was not even suggested. The discovery of the Deluge tablet with its striking parallelisms to the Biblical accounts was an epoch-marking event. By the orthodox it was hailed as a most startling confirmation of the Hebrew record, and duly discounted as such. Still further hopes were raised when, a few years later, the brilliant discoverer published his fragments of the Babylonian Creation legends. It was now recognized that there were most striking and close affinities between the Hebrew and Assyrio-Babylonian primitive traditions.

The first and most important result of these discoveries was the birth of a new branch of Biblical study, that of Biblical Archæology, and with astonishing rapidity works began to appear, pointing out the astonishing confirmations of the Hebrew records which were now to be found in the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions. These works did a certain amount of good by directing the attention of students to the rich material that was now accessible for study, but at the same time this good was materially depreciated by the conspicuous absence of any critical faculty in the work of comparison. The Biblical element

was always predominant, and the referendum of all outside material. The Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch was enunciated as a proved fact, and therefore all the Assyrian and Babylonian material was merely of a confirmatory nature—no suggestion that it was rather of the nature of original could be entertained.

The rise of Higher Criticism on the Continent and in this country has, however, effected a strange change, and one which has also had a corresponding development in Assyriology. Just as it is now clearly demonstrated that the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch is no longer tenable, so also is it shown that the literature of Babylonia, of which that of Assyria was but a later edition, has an antiquity exceeding, by more than a thousand years, that of the Mosaic age. The immense number of religious and poetical inscriptions obtained from the buried libraries of Chaldea, enable us to trace the growth and development of the literature of those ancient people, in a manner not to be met with in that of any other ancient nation.

The labours of Wellhausen and Haupt on the Continent, and Cheyne and Driver in this country, and especially those of the late Professor Robertson Smith, have shown that, like all other Oriental literature, that of the Hebrew people was capable of being analyzed, and shown to be, not a series of concrete works, each to be assigned to a definite epoch, but that in most cases the works had undergone several editings, and that the Pentateuch and many of the other books of the Old Testament were a mosaic of fragments of varying authorship and date. To the ordinary and unprejudiced reader of the English version, this composite character is apparent in the reduplication of several important events. We have two Creation stories, presenting marked variations (Gen. i. and ii.), two

versions of the Deluge story, two legends of the patriarchs and the beginnings of civilization in the times of Cain and Seth, three versions of the Ten Commandments (Exod. xx., xxxiv., and Deut. v.), and many other such reduplications. These repetitions would show at least a diversity of authorship, and a subsequent not too careful editing.

Such a phenomenon as this indication of varied authorship and material might seem to be the result of hypercritical analysis were it not that the very same features are to be found in Babylonian literature also. As I show in dealing with the Creation legends and the National Epic, with the incorporated Deluge legend, the same blending of material from various schools of religious teaching, and an attempted canonical editing about B.C. 2000, to suit the tenets of the theological college of Marduk of Babylon, is clearly to be traced. As in Hebrew literature we have the three elements of the Yahavistic and Elohist writers and the priestly editing, so in Babylonian we have the theological teaching of the school of Ea of Eridu, the older Bel of Nippur, and the final composition or editing of these important religious texts under the supervision of the priestly school of Marduk of Babylon.

Whatever may be the date of the Hebrew accounts both of Creation and Deluge, the Babylonian versions are long antecedent to them. The very important opening lines of the Code inscriptions of Khammurabi so closely resemble a passage in the seventh Creation tablet which is a direct product of the teaching of the school of Marduk of Babylon that it is evident that it was during the period of the first Babylonian dynasty (B.C. 2300-2000) that the fusion of the old theological teachings of Eridu and Nippur was attempted; but this primitive fusion was no doubt

still further completed in Neo-Babylonian times, and it is these later documents that would be accessible to the Hebrew scribes during and after the age of the Captivity, in the libraries of Babylon, Borsippa, and other cities. The documents which were used by these first editors were, however, much older than the Epic period, and certainly some of them were based on Sumerian originals. Notice the Sumerian names of Tutu, originally Ea, later Marduk in the seventh tablet, and the bilingual Creation legend—an undoubted product of the school of Eridu. The Dragon Tiamat myth which forms the opening to the Babylonian epic can be traced, as I have shown, still further back to the old Magical tablets of the Sumerians. The engraved seals of the age of Sargon I. of Agade, dating B.C. 3800, have scenes taken from the epic of Gilgames, so that the poem must then have been in existence, and, as the Deluge tablet forms an episode in it, we may reasonably assume that it formed part of the then cycle poem. The Deluge story, as I show, like most other Babylonian myths, had passed through stages of growth and development. Important discoveries in all parts of Western Asia, during recent years, have thrown a lurid light upon the position of the Hebrew people in the drama of Oriental history, and done much to remove them from that position of splendid isolation to which they had been condemned by the apologetic school of writers. The inscriptions of Babylonia show that the position of the Hebrews, as the chosen people of Yaveh, was by no means unique. Each Oriental nation regarded itself as the chosen people of the national god; the Babylonian hymn to Marduk speaks of "the people of Babylon whom thou lovest," so the Assyrian speaks of Assur as "the land which thou (Assur) lovest." The Moabite regarded himself



as the chosen of Kemosh. It was but the natural conclusion resulting from a theocratic form of government, and all the ancient Oriental kingdoms were theocracies, the king being the vice-regent of the national god. This form of government was essentially Semitic, and the result of the growth of social life from the individual to the nation, and the unbroken association between God and man. Man was the son of his god, from the god of the individual came the tribal or family god, the civic god, the national god. Hence in all the events of social development there must be an association with the god. We see this clearly in all the early history of Babylonian civilization. The first elements of civilization are of Divine origin ; law is given by God to man, kings derive their authority from God. Thus Khammurabi says, "From the people whom Bel entrusted to me to rule I did not withdraw myself ;" "I am he whom the gods proclaimed : " and, later, Nebuchadnezzar says, "When Marduk, the great lord, had rightly summoned me to direct the land and shepherd the people." This unbroken association between the god, the king, and the people, is the essential basis of Semitic national life. Hitherto it has been regarded as the sole possession of the Hebrew people, and therefrom has arisen one of the most striking errors of the apologetic school of Biblical expositors, and nothing has done so much to render the true study of the growth and development of Hebrew literature and civilization impossible. The great fault of a certain school of writers has been their total inability to distinguish between illustration and evidence. Any chance similarity between the Babylonian, Egyptian, and other monuments and the Hebrew record is at once seized upon as a piece of confirmatory evidence. I may instance one striking example of this in the case of

Melchizedek, the priest-king of Salem, the priest of the Most High God (Gen. xiv. 19). We know nothing more of this personage, who is made the contemporary of Abram, therefore probably about B.C. 2300 according to Babylonian records, until, more than two thousand years after, a Christian writer, speaking of this tradition, says that he was "without father or mother, without genealogy or beginning of days, nor end of life" (Heb. vii. 1). Among the Tel-el-Amarna tablets were found certain letters from the King of Jerusalem, *Abdi-taba*, to Amenophis IV., dating therefore about B.C. 1430. In these letters the writer says "that not from my father or my mother am I king, but from the arm of the king"—that is, from the Egyptian Pharaoh. There is a gap of some eight or more centuries between this tablet and the age of Melchizedek, fourteen centuries between this record and the Christian writer, yet this statement is hailed as a startling confirmation of the truth of the Hebrew writing. This is an instance of the confusion between illustration and evidence.

The discovery of the wonderful Code of Laws drawn up by the Babylonian King Khammurabi is even more important in its bearing on the study of Biblical archæology than that of the Deluge or Creation legend, because it raises the whole question of the origin of the Mosaic law and Mosaic tradition. The amount of energy that has been expended on proving the historical accuracy of the ages of Joseph and Moses is astonishing; Professor Sayce, Revs. G. Tomkins, and H. M. Mackenzie have all pointed out the marvellous Egypticity of these portions of the Pentateuch. No one can deny this in the case of Joseph: the Egyptian references are most accurate both as regards names, religious and social customs, etc., but it has,

*b*

unfortunately, been pointed out by Mr. Griffith, Professor Steindorff, and other Egyptologists, that these all agree with the period of the Twenty-second Egyptian dynasty, and not with the Hyksos age, to which the episode of Joseph in Egypt is assigned.

The names Potiphar, Potipherah, Asenath,\* the title Zaphenath-paneah, are all names which belong to the time of the twenty-second dynasty, B.C. 977, or even later. The "Tale of the Two Brothers," so often used as an illustration of the incident of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, was not written until the time of Seti II.; so there again we have great discrepancy in age of the authorities compared. In regard to the life of Moses, new and important matter has now come to light. The life of Moses in Egypt is associated with the reigns of Rameses II. and his son Seti Menepthah. The chief incidents in the life of the Hebrew leader are, his finding in the ark on the waters of the Nile by Pharaoh's, presumably Rameses II.'s, daughter; his flight into Midian, and his infliction of the plagues on the land of Egypt; dividing the waters of the Red Sea. That the episodes in the life of Moses should be assigned to the age of Rameses II. is of great importance. Among the sons of this prolific Pharaoh, for he had some seventy children, was one named Kha-m-ūas (Manifestation, in Thebes). This prince was High Priest of Ptah in Memphis, and, according to traditions, a man of great learning, and especially addicted to the study of magic. Around him there grew up in later times a series of stories which were extremely popular among the Egyptians in the times subsequent to the twenty-second dynasty, and even down to long after the Christian era. In the time of the

\* See Budge, "History of Egypt," vol. v.; Griffith, in "Archæology and Authority," edited by Hogarth.

twenty-sixth Egyptian dynasty, the magic of Kha-m-ūas is referred to, and it is to this age that his statue in the British Museum is probably to be assigned.

In the "Tales of Setme-kha-m-ūas," recently published by Mr. Griffith, we have a curious series of wonders associated with this ancient magician, which present a striking resemblance to those in the life of Moses. According to the story, two Ethiopian magicians had come to the court of Egypt to cast spells on the land, and these are the threats they use: the first magician says, "I will cast my spell upon the land of Egypt, and will cause the people of Egypt to pass three days and three nights without seeing the light." The parallel with Ex. x. 21, 23 is almost literal. To quote: "The Lord said unto Moses, Stretch thy hands toward Heaven, and there shall be darkness over the land of Egypt; and there was darkness in the land of Egypt for three days." The next extract also presents a curious agreement with the Hebrew accounts. The mother of one of the Ethiopian magicians, after warning them of the skill of the Egyptian wise men, says, "Set some sign between me and thee. Should it be that thou failest, I will come to thee that I may help thee." Her son then says, "If it happen that I be overcome, the waters shall be made the colour of blood before thee, and the foods before thee the colour of flesh, and the heavens shall be the colour of blood." Here we have all the essential features of the plague of blood (Ex. vii. 19, 23). It would seem as if the writer in Exodus knew of these stories, which he used in giving colour to his work. One more parallel is to be noted. One magician says, "I will cast my magic spell upon the land of Egypt, and will not allow the land to be fertile for three years."

It may be urged that these are but the deeds of Moses

which have been woven into the cycle of legends round Kha-m-ūas. There is, however, an answer to this. The defeat of the two Ethiopian magicians is accomplished by Se Osiris, the son of Kha-m-ūas, who appears at the court of Rameses II., but the episode really belongs to the reign of Thothmes III. According to the legend, Se Osiris had lived in a former life at the time of Thothmes III. as Hor, the Son of the Negro. At that time the two Ethiopian magicians had come to cast magic on Egypt, and had been defeated by him as Moses defeated Jannes and Jambres. The resemblance to Moses is very striking, and when one of the magicians taunts the victorious Hor in the words, "Art thou not Hor, the son of Negro, whom I took from the reeds of Ra (Nile)?" we are reminded of the finding of Moses. This episode has been sometimes compared to the story of Sargon of Agade being placed by his mother in an ark or basket on the Euphrates, but I am inclined to regard this as doubtful. Other episodes found their counterpart in the magical fiction of Egypt. The flight of Sinhuit from Egypt to Midian, a legend of the Twelfth dynasty, where he marries the daughter of the local sheik and becomes rich, but eventually returns to Egypt and to the court of Pharaoh, has remarkable resemblances to the story of the flight of Moses. Lastly, the dividing of the waters by magicians, and heaping of them up like a wall, occurs in the West Car papyrus, and in the first of the stories of Setme Kha-m-ūas. It is then in the popular folk literature of Egypt that we find parallels to most of the episodes in the life of Joseph and Moses, and most of these works belong to the period between the Twenty-second and Twenty-sixth dynasties, B.C. 977-664. During the age of Solomon and Rehoboam the intercourse with Egypt was close, and, indeed, until

the Assyrian power became dominant, it existed ; it was probable, therefore, that many of these stories would be known among the learned in Palestine, and hence the local colouring of the age of the bondage and deliverance which we find in the Pentateuch was adopted from them.

I now come to the most important episode in the life of the Hebrew law-giver—the giving of the Law on Sinai.

The very pertinent question was once asked by the late M. Renan, "Was the law given upon Sinai because Sinai was holy, or was Sinai holy because the law was given there?" Recent researches, as I have shown (Chap. III.), have proved that to both the Egyptians and the Babylonians, both Sumerians and Semites, Sinai was a holy land. To the former it was the special fief of the goddess Hathor and her consort, the hawk god Supt; while to the Semites of Babylonia it was probably associated with Sin, the moon god, "a lord of law" (*bel teriti*), from which the mountain derived its name. It is not improbable that the pre-Israelitish population of Palestine looked upon this region of wild mountain and desert, the region of storms and thunders and lightnings, as the abode of some mighty Desert god.

The code of Khammurabi, however, affords us some clue to this belief in an ancient law given to man by God, and especially a god associated with the holy mountain. The old Sumerian God of laws was the god Mullil, the older Bel of the Semites, whose sacred city was Nippur, and whose temple was E-Kur, "the Mountain House," deriving its name from the Mountain of the World, on which Bel held his court. Now, Bel it was who wore on his breast the "tablets of law and destiny," by which he

ruled all things, and cast the destinies of gods and men. These tablets were the special insignia of divine power and supremacy, and the possession of them confirmed these attributes on the possessor. In the Creation Epic we find Tiamat conferring them upon Kingu, his spouse, from whom they are taken by Marduk. There is, however, a very interesting legend associated with these tablets in Babylonian mythology. The tablets of destiny were stolen from the god Bel by Zu, the Storm god, who takes and carries them away to his mountain of storms, and there he retains them amid the storms and thunders and lightnings. At last Marduk goes and brings them down from the mountain, and restores law and order to the gods. In this legend I believe we have the basis of the story of the giving of the Law on Sinai, or on the Mountain of God. As Khammurabi states that he received his laws direct from the Sun god—a statement that is not in a strict sense true, for the laws he proclaims had been in use long before his time—so the later Hebrew writers, in order strictly to connect the Law with Yaveh, borrowed and adapted the story of Zu, the Storm god, whose theophany resembled that of the God of Sinai.

The discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna Tablets have shown that the influence of Babylonia had been predominant over Canaan for many centuries. The scribes in most of the towns were acquainted with the cuneiform writing, and if so, the literature of Babylonia was known to them. If the writing was used for diplomatic purposes, it must also have been used for commercial purposes. Now, during the rule of the first Babylonian dynasty, of which Khammurabi was a member, and probably for some time after, their influence continued, certainly until many a century before the age of Joshua. It is, therefore, more

than probable that the laws embodied in the code of Khammurabi were current in Canaan. If Babylonian myths, such as those which the Hebrews adopted in the story of Samson or Saul and the witch of Endor, had become known in Palestine, surely so great and so simple and so suitable a code of laws must have been known throughout the whole of Western Asia. The earliest Hebrew code is that of a settled people; its verbatim agreements with the Babylonian code are so close as to admit of no explanation other than an adaptation by the Hebrews of a code which they had found in use, and such a code would have no *raison d'être* in the wilds of Sinai.

The civilization which the Hebrews found in Canaan was essentially Babylonian; and most of the surrounding nations had derived their culture from the same source. The culture of Phœnicia, which first made itself felt in Jerusalem in the age of Solomon, and later in that of Ahab, was essentially Babylonian. The temple of Solomon might have been one erected by a Babylonian or an Assyrian king; for its arrangements, including the two tree pillars and the sea, or laver, are the same both in names and plan.

This indirect contact with the civilizations of the Tigro-Euphrates Valley continued until the fall of Jerusalem, and the foundation of many religious traditions and civil laws and customs was laid. During all this period, however, the Hebrews lacked one great quality of true national life—a true and deep belief in the theocratic power of the national god.

The Captivity—if such it can be called—in Babylonia consolidated all these isolated elements, and produced the greatest renaissance the world has ever seen. In Babylonia,



with its marvellous system of religious and political centralization, the Jew saw the true secret of national life. The god was one with the nation, his city and temple were the life and heart of the nation, and from him law and order must come. There it was that the old fragments were revised and edited, the national literature constructed so as to have a continuity of tradition extending back to the childhood of the nation, and once for all and for ever Israel became a nation ruled by a theocracy which has never ceased to exist.

The monuments have, as I say, removed the Hebrew from the isolated position in which he has hitherto been placed. He is no longer a mere figure in the drama of old-world history; he has his part, and an important one, mingling with the crowd of Egyptians, Babylonians, and Assyrians upon the stage—a real and intensely important character, above all intensely human, no longer a mere automaton, but a being of like passions with ourselves.

In this work I have endeavoured to show how fully we can reconstruct the beginnings of civilization in Western Asia, and to what an antiquity we must look for the dawn of civilization. Much has been done, but much remains to be done, and the solution of many problems of the utmost importance to the true understanding of the childhood of the human race still lies buried beneath the mounds of the Chaldean plain.

In the chapter on Egypt and Chaldea I have endeavoured to show that there are many indications of a contact at a very early period between the civilization of the Nile and the Tigro-Euphrates Valley. My remarks must, however, be considered more of the nature of suggestions than as the statement of a definite fact, and each year's

work in these two fields of archæological research supplies new and important material for consideration.

In conclusion, I must thank Mr. James Kennedy for the valuable assistance he has given me in the difficult field of Mohammedan law, and for the time and trouble he has expended in reading a large portion of the proofs of the work. The maps were drawn by Mr. W. W. Woodrow, of the Library of the British Museum.

“EX ORIENTE LUX.”



# CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE LANDS OF NIMROD . . . . .	I
II. BEGINNINGS OF BABYLONIAN CIVILIZATION	43
III. EGYPT AND CHALDEA . . . . .	88
IV. THE CITY KINGDOMS . . . . .	118
V. THE GARDEN OF THE ORIENT . . . . .	141
VI. "KHAMMURABI THE GREAT" . . . . .	162
VII. "THE CODE OF KHAMMURABI" . . . . .	195
VIII. "LAWS OF KHAMMURABI" . . . . .	220
IX. THE BEGINNINGS OF LITERATURE . . . . .	264
APPENDIX A. BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN ART IN RELATION TO EGYPT . . . . .	319
APPENDIX B. FOUNDATION CEREMONIES . . . . .	327
APPENDIX C. THE LEGEND OF DEATH . . . . .	332
APPENDIX D. THE DELUGE LEGEND . . . . .	337
INDEX . . . . .	349



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Khammurabi receiving the Laws . . . . .	3
Geological Map . . . . .	8
Canal at Busra . . . . .	8
Inscription of Karibu-Ša-Susinak . . . . .	10
Inscription of Anu-Banini . . . . .	12
Sumerian Head . . . . .	14
Early Elamite Head . . . . .	15
Kileh-Shergat, Aššur . . . . .	19
Istar of Nineveh . . . . .	23
Tel-el-Amarna Tablets . . . . .	38
Statue of Gudea . . . . .	41
Cave Drawings from France . . . . .	45
Drawing of Urnina . . . . .	47
Oldest Bill in the World . . . . .	49
Pictorial Characters . . . . .	57
Citadel Mound of Susa . . . . .	58
Fish-headed God . . . . .	68
Block of Pillars, Tello . . . . .	71
Shepherd and Dogs . . . . .	83
Musical Instruments . . . . .	84
Figures of Fire-god . . . . .	85
Pyramid of Medum . . . . .	89
Flint Tools from Egypt . . . . .	91
Bird's Nest and Basket . . . . .	92
Basket from Nippur . . . . .	93

	PAGE
Royal Tomb of Nagada . . . . .	<i>De Morgan</i> . . . . . 96
Tomb of Mer Neit . . . . .	<i>Petrie, "Royal Tombs"</i> . . . . . 97
Building of Ur Nina . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 97
Staircase of Den . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 98
Staircase at Eridu . . . . .	<i>Drawing</i> . . . . . 99
Chaldean Seal, B.C. 3800 . . . . .	" . . . . . 100
Clay Seals of Ka, 1st Dynasty, } Egypt . . . . .	} <i>Petrie, "Royal Tombs"</i> . . . . . 101
Early Babylonian Seal . . . . .	<i>Drawing</i> . . . . . 103
Stele of Per-ab-Sen . . . . .	<i>Petrie, "Royal Tombs"</i> . . . . . 104
Stele of Meti-Sikhu . . . . .	<i>Private Photo</i> . . . . . 104
Demon of South-west Wind . . . . .	. . . . . 108
Chaldean Tomb from Mughier . . . . .	<i>Drawing</i> . . . . . 114
Babylonian Funeral Couch . . . . .	. . . . . 116
Obelisk of Maništu-su . . . . .	<i>Delegation en Perse, Pl. II.</i> . . . . . 121
Tel-Edé, or Marad . . . . .	<i>Drawing</i> . . . . . 123
Brick Stele of E-anna-du . . . . .	<i>Photo, Mansell &amp; Co.</i> . . . . . 126
Mace-head of Sargon . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 128
Stele of Naram-Sin from Susa . . . . .	<i>Delegation en Perse, Pl. II.</i> . . . . . 129
Royal Group on Stele . . . . .	" " " " . . . . . 130
Mughier—Ur . . . . .	<i>Photo (private)</i> . . . . . 132
Statue of Ur-bau . . . . .	<i>Harper's Magazine</i> . . . . . 133
Palace of Gudea . . . . .	" " . . . . . 136
Plan of the Palace of Gudea . . . . .	" " . . . . . 137
Plans on Statue of Gudea . . . . .	" " . . . . . 138
Wooden Sickle (Egypt), 1 . . . . .	. . . . . 143
Sheep's Jaw-bone, 2 . . . . .	. . . . . 143
Surveys of Estates . . . . .	<i>Drawing, W. St. C. B.</i> . . . . . 145
Cadastral Survey of Estate . . . . .	<i>Photo, Mansell &amp; Co.</i> . . . . . 149
Corn Return, B.C. 2500 . . . . .	<i>British Museum, Inscriptions</i> . . . . . 150
Inventory of Cattle . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 152
Cattle from Babylonian Seal . . . . .	<i>Drawing</i> . . . . . 153
Tools from Egypt and Chaldea . . . . .	" . . . . . 161
Portrait, Khammurabi . . . . .	<i>Photo, Mansell &amp; Co.</i> . . . . . 163
Ruins of Temple of Bel . . . . .	<i>Old Drawing</i> . . . . . 164
Bronze Figure . . . . .	<i>Drawing</i> . . . . . 175
Cylinder of Eri-aku . . . . .	<i>Photo, Eyre &amp; Spottiswoode</i> . . . . . 176
Assyrian Winged Bull . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 187

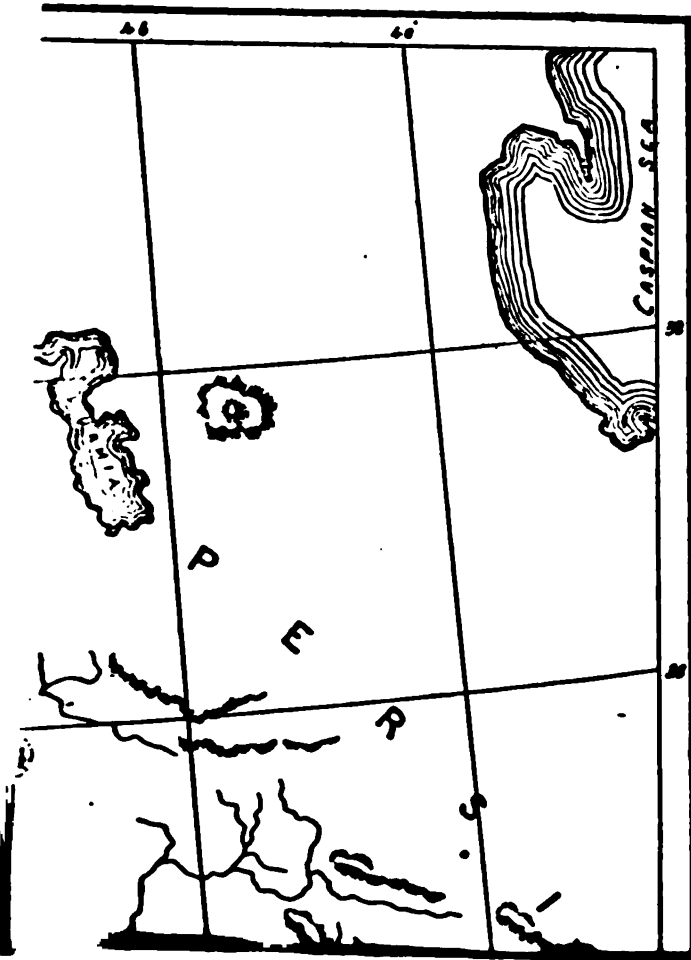
# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xxix

	PAGE
Tablet of Domestic Laws . . . . .	Photo, <i>Mansell &amp; Co.</i> . . . . . 211
Demons Fighting . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 267
Seal of Epic Figures, B.C. 3800 . . . . .	<i>Drawing</i> . . . . . 277
Gilgames and Lion (Seal) . . . . .	Photo, <i>Eyre &amp; Spottiswoode</i> . . . . . 278
Gilgames (Nimrod) . . . . .	Photo, <i>Girandon</i> . . . . . 281
Gates of Heaven and Sun-god . . . . .	Photo, <i>Eyre &amp; Spottiswoode</i> . . . . . 285
Deluge Tablet (Obverse) . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 286
"    "    (Reverse) . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 287
Šamaš Napišti in his Ark . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 288
First Creation Tablet . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 293
Second Creation Tablet . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 295
Seventh Creation Tablet . . . . .	" " " . . . . . 308
Birs Nimroud . . . . .	<i>Drawing</i> . . . . . 310
Fifth Creation Tablet . . . . .	Photo, <i>Eyre &amp; Spottiswoode</i> . . . . . 313
Nebo, the Scribe-God . . . . .	Photo, <i>Mansell &amp; Co.</i> . . . . . 316
Slate Tablet from Hieraconpolis of Narmer . . . . .	. . . . . 320
Fragment of Slate Tablet with Vultures . . . . .	} <i>P.S.B.A., Vol. XXII.</i> . . . . . 324
Portions of Chaldean Stele of the Vultures . . . . .	} <i>Harper's Magazine</i> . . . . . 325
Funeral Couches from Abydos . . . . .	<i>Petrie, "Royal Tombs"</i> . . . . . 326
Foundation Stone of Assurbani-pal . . . . .	. . . . . 327
Babylonian Bronze Funeral Tablet . . . . .	<i>Drawing</i> . . . . . 333







1.1  
1



# THE FIRST OF EMPIRES

## CHAPTER I

### THE LANDS OF NIMROD

“And it came to pass, as they journeyed in the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and dwelt there.”—GEN. xi. 2.

**T**HE civilization of Chaldea, like that of the sister empire of Egypt, found its cradle in a great alluvial basin, a river-born land, a region where nature seemed, as it were, to have made ample preparation for the advent of man. The rich and fertile valley, which breaks the broad belt of desert which stretches across Asia from the Mediterranean to the Yellow Sea, is the basin of two great rivers to which the fertile delta—which became the site of the Babylonian Kingdom—owes its existence. It was a region well calculated to attract settlers. To the west the arid wastes of Arabia, to the east the desert plateau of Persia; Luristan, Kurdistan rising step by step to the tableland of Central Asia—“the womb of nations,” as Sir Henry Rawlinson aptly styled it—this oasis would naturally seem a veritable “garden of the gods” to those who journeyed thither.

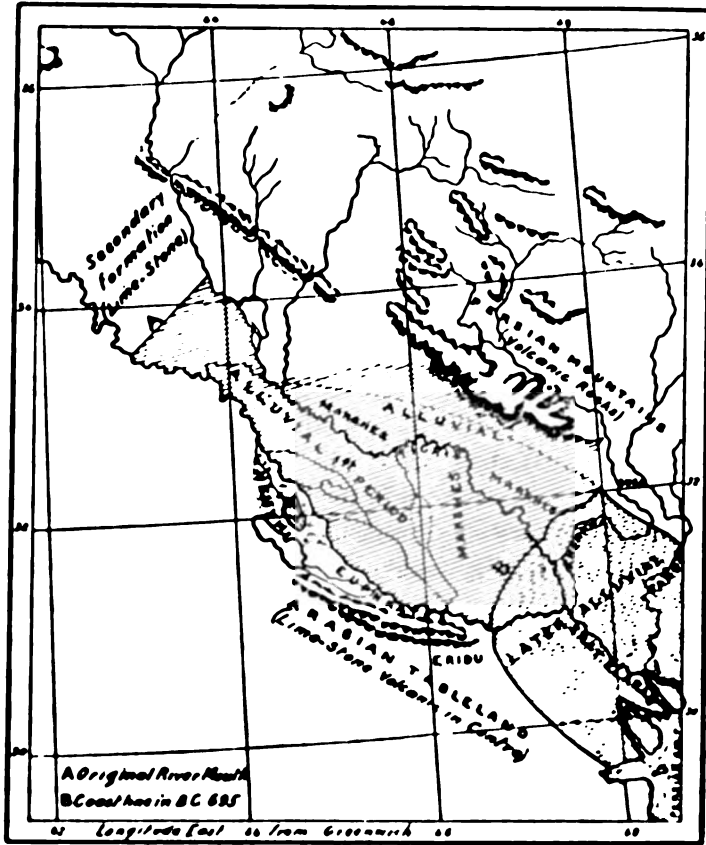
The two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates, both rise in the mountains of Armenia, and within a short distance of each other.

B

The two streams differ from each other considerably; the Euphrates, after a considerable bend westward, enters a tolerably lofty steppe, where the uniform surface is broken by ridges of rock, by ranges of hills, pastures, and fruitful strips of land, while the banks of the river are overgrown with forests of plane trees, tamarisks, and cypresses, and shut in by fertile meadows. When the Euphrates has left the high land, at a place where the two rivers approach each other most nearly, and at a distance of about 400 miles from their mouths, the plain of rich alluvial soil commences. The line of demarcation between the alluvial and secondary formation is very clearly marked—as commencing at Hit on the Euphrates, and Samarah on the Tigris. From this point the difference between the two rivers is most clearly to be seen. The Euphrates has a slow course, often spreading its waters over the low-lying banks; but the Tigris, the fall in whose bed is considerably steeper than that of the Euphrates, rushes rapidly to the sea, its own volume being augmented by the tributaries from the Persian Apennines. Although, unlike the Nile, there is no regular annual inundation, both streams, flooded by the melting of the snows of the Armenian and Persian mountains, overflow their banks during the summer.

The inundation commences in the Tigris about the beginning of June; in the Euphrates about the beginning of July. These inundations, now uncontrolled by canals and embankments, as in ancient times, often do more harm than good, and those of the Tigris especially often turn the whole of the marshy regions of the Afadj into a rolling sea. In ancient times, when the dams, reservoirs, and canals were carefully preserved, these life-giving waters were distributed over the land in just proportion, and the

fertility of the land immensely increased. The growth of the alluvial in Chaldea has been very rapid, and accurate observations show that the present rate of increase is



GEOLOGICAL MAP.

about one mile in seventy years; while it is the opinion of those best qualified to judge that the average progress during the historic period was as much as a mile in thirty years. There is every reason to believe that in the early

days of the Chaldean Empire the Persian Gulf extended at least 120 miles further inland. The annals of Sennacherib throw some considerable light upon this subject, for at the time of his campaign against Bit Yakin, on the Elamite shores of the Persian Gulf, the two rivers entered the gulf by separate mouths, as did also the Karun and the Kerkha.\* From the evidence of the inscriptions, it is clear also that both Eridu (Abu Sharain) and Ur (Mughier) were in ancient times close to the sea, from which they are now more than a hundred miles distant.

The fact that in remote geological times the whole of Lower Babylonia, as far inland as a line drawn from Hit to Samarah, that is, a distance of about 400 miles from the present mouth of the Shal-el-Arab, was under sea, is clearly indicated by the formation of the country. The rapid growth of the alluvial deposits drove the waters of the gulf back, and formed a rich and fertile plain; but traces of the old sea-bed remain in low sandy and pebbly ridges, which rise above the surface of the plain. "To-day," says Dr. Hilprecht,† "such enormous sandhills are found in several districts of Iraq, notably in the neighbourhood of Jokha, Warka (Erech), Tel Ibrahim (Kutha), and Nuffar (Nippar), and Abu Hubba (Sippara)." These heaps were known to the ancient Babylonians by the name of Tul Abubi ("mounds of the deluge"), and this name is of particular interest. The alluvial belt extends to the foot of the Persian mountains, the ancient Susiania through which the Karun, Kerkha, and Dizful flow. The explorations of M. de Morgan at Susa, and among the prehistoric settlements at Poucht-e-Kouh, show that these

\* See lines on Geological Map; this expedition was undertaken in B.C. 695.

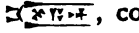



† Hilprecht, "Explorations in Bible Lands," p. 41.

highlands were occupied by man in early neolithic and possibly paleolithic times, and therefore man then looked down upon a vast gulf covering the land that afterwards became the Elamite and Babylonian plains. It was the tradition of this submergence, no doubt, which lived on, and out of which grew the legend of the Deluge. Just as we find the tradition of the extinct monsters of the tertiary age surviving in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, in the gigantic serpents and composite animal forms, so the submergence of the lowlands of Mesopotamia lived on in the myth of the Deluge.

Like the Nile valley, especially Lower Egypt, this acquired land, the gift of the two rivers, was in every way favourable to the development of national life. Naturally fertile, it became ten times more so with the slightest assistance from the hand of man. All the writers of antiquity are unanimous in praising the fertility of this plain. Berosus, Herodotus, Xenophon, all speak with astonishment of its wealth of wheat, barley, sesame, dates, and other fruits. The testimony of Herodotus may be taken as the best evidence. He says (I. 193), "Of all countries that we know, there is none which is so fruitful in grain. It makes no pretension, indeed, of growing the fig, the olive, or the vine, or any other trees of the kind, but in grain it is so fruitful as to yield commonly two hundred-fold, and when the production is greatest, even three hundred-fold. The blade of the wheat plant and barley is often four fingers in breadth. As for millet and the sesame, I shall not say to what height they grow, though within my own knowledge; for I am not ignorant that what I have already written concerning the fruitfulness of Babylonia must seem incredible to those who have never visited the country. . . . Palm trees grow in



great numbers over the whole of the flat country, mostly of the kind that bears fruit, and this fruit supplies them with bread, wine, and honey."

The statements of Herodotus and the other classical writers are fully endorsed by the evidence of the monuments. The large number of revenue tablets in the British Museum, dating from the time of the Second Dynasty of Ur (about B.C. 2500), and more ancient inscriptions, such as the obelisk of Maništu-su, show the immense corn-producing power of the land. The forfeits in the code of Khammurabi show the estimated yield of land was 6 *gur* (48 bushels) per *gan* (feddan). The feddan was about one acre and a ninth, thus the yield would be 47-48 bushels per acre. In the time of Maništu-su eight bushels of corn could be purchased for a silver shekel. Corn was not only the staple food of Babylonia, it formed the commercial standard by which the price of all commodities was estimated. This fact is proved by the ideogram for price (*sim*), which is , composed of  +  +  (corn measure), which indicates a corn tariff. The great corn-growing area of Babylonia was in the south, with Larsa, Erech, Sirpurra, and Nippur as the chief centres. There was a considerable interchange of commodities between north and south, the former exchanging sheep, wool, cattle, etc., for corn and dates with the latter. Among the tablets found at Tello are some inventories of articles sent from the north to the south dated in the reign of Sargon I. (B.C. 3800).\* These give an idea of the wealth of the land. One of these letters mentions two oxen and seven asses, which were sent by boat from Agade to Sirpurra, and the writer states that there is sufficient fodder in the boat for the animals. Another mentions 1540 sheep and 854 goats

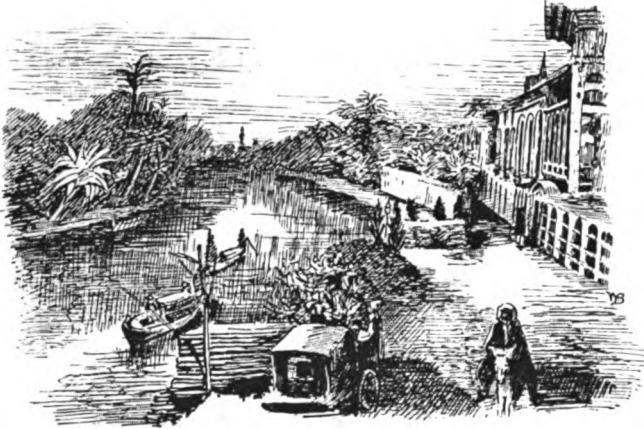
\* Thureau Dangin, "Tab. Chald. Inedit.," No 35.

as being sent. The corn mostly being exported from the south to the north, we do not find many records, but one tablet records 1720 *gur* as being sent from Agade—that would be 13,760 bushels. These ancient documents, then, amply confirm the statements of the classical writers as to the wealth of the Chaldean plain. Among other objects mentioned on these tablets we have dates, sesame, honey, milk, butter, wool, various woods. An interesting point in regard to these tablets is the frequent mention not only of silver, but also of gold, which is rarely found on tablets of a later date. Sargon, and Naram Sin, his son, had widely extended the power of the Chaldean Empire. Elam, as we know from both Babylonian records and the inscriptions and sculptures found at Susa, had been conquered, and the Chaldean forces had penetrated into the Persian mountains as far as Apirak, or Mal Amir, the Khalpirti of the Susanian inscriptions. Westward most important conquests had been made. Magan, or Sinai, with its stone quarries and copper mines, had been conquered, and Milukha, or Midian, with its stores of alluvial gold, had been annexed.

The following appears to be a list of offerings sent by the King, Queen, Viceroy, and other officials to the temple of Nin Sugir, or possibly the goddess Bau :—

(One) mana of gold.	One fat goat.
(One) Ox.	Seven fat sheep.
One fat ox.	(The Queen (Lady).)
One lamb.	
19 (20-1) fat sheep.	Half a mana of gold.
(The King.)	Two fat sheep.
	(Udu Lumir.)
Half a mana of gold.	
One fat bull.	Half a mana of gold.
One lamb.	Two fat sheep.
One . . .	(The Patesi (Viceroy).)

By nature prolific, the land became tenfold more so when man began to cultivate it, to regulate the water-supply, and to store and distribute the fertilizing fluid over the land. The earliest inscriptions we possess, those of the kings of Sirpurra or Tello, relate to the making of canals, tanks, and dams to regulate or store the water, and hence we find the agricultural wealth of the country



CANAL AT BUSRA.

vastly increased. No nation of the ancient world ever attained to such a high state of perfection in agriculture as the Sumerian population of Babylonia; and as early as B.C. 4500 we find a system of cadastral survey and land valuation, a fiscal system never changed in later times in use, all of which presupposes centuries of growth and development. Some idea of Babylonia in its most flourishing period can be gained from the better cultivated portions of the land at the present time.

Of the countries associated with Babylonia in ancient

times the most important was that of Elam, or "the Highland," the kingdom which occupied the western slopes of the Luristan mountains, and the fertile plain between them and the Tigris. It was, as I have already said, a region partly of alluvial origin, its rich soil being composed of the deposits from the rivers whose head-streams were in the highlands of Western Persia. Through this region flowed the Karun, the Dizful, the Kerkha, and the Dyala. This region, the modern Khuzistan, is still one of the most fertile provinces of the Persian Empire, and in ancient times it must have been a serious rival of the Chaldean plain in fertility. Rich in corn, and probably, as De Morgan, De Candole,\* Dr. Schweinfurt, and others agree, the indigenous home of wheat; it was probably, as the prehistoric harvest settlements at Susa show, cultivated before Babylonia. On higher ground, with a cooler climate than the plains of Chaldea, the vine and the olive and other fruit-trees flourished, while the hills were covered with oaks, firs, and other valuable trees. It was in this region that the vine was first cultivated, and the tradition seems to be preserved in the Hebrew story of Noah's vineyard (Gen. ix. 20).

In the genealogies preserved in the Bible, Elam is classed as Semitic (Gen. x. 22), together with Assyria. This classification is rather linguistic than ethnic, but recent discoveries have shown that the earliest Elamite inscriptions were modelled on those of Babylonia, and written both in Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian. It is unfortunate that we are as yet unable to fix any definite date for these inscriptions, although the archaic

\* De Morgan, "Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte," tom. ii. pp. 40-46. De Candole, "The Migration of Plants."

character of the writing would lead us to assign them to a period between 3000 and 2000 B.C. It would seem, as Dr. Schiel suggests, that the art of writing and the formula of the inscriptions were introduced into Elam from Babylonia—perhaps about the time of the first



INSCRIPTION OF KARIBU-ŠA-SUSINAK.

Babylonian dynasty ; but during the time of Sargon I. and Naram Sin the Babylonian influence must have been fairly considerable.

Among the inscriptions found at Susa are several which are exactly like those of the Babylonian viceroys. As an example, I may quote the inscription on a brick of

Ardu-Naram Susinak (the servant beloved of the god Susinak). It reads \*—

“To the god Susinak his lord for the life of Idadu, the viceroy of Susa, Wardu-Naram Susinak, son of Kal-Rukhuratir, the walls with bitumen of old were not cemented, new walls with earth a princely house, after him he has made, and for his life † he has caused it to be made.”

This inscription is pure Semitic Babylonian, as is the name of the man, who dedicates his work as a votive offering.

Among the inscriptions from Susa is a very long and interesting tablet of Karibu-Ša-Susinak (favourite of Susinak), which is modelled on Babylonian lines. It is in columns; the first one, which is mutilated, can be easily restored from other inscriptions of this king.

Col. I. To Susinak his lord Karibu Sa Susinak, viceroy of Susa, son of Simbi?—Iskhug? viceroy of Susa, High priest of the land of Elam, When for the citadel its gate he had made, for the gate of Susinak his lord.

Col. II. Then also the canal of Sidaur he opened, His seat before it he placed, and its gate with planks of cedar wood he made. One sheep for the interior—one sheep for the approach (as offerings) each day he appointed. With music the men of the city as a festival day

Col. III. shall make, and shall cause songs to be sung. Twenty measures of pure oil he gave to make bright the gate. Four silver *magi* he gave An incense censer of silver and gold for a sweet odour, he gave A great sword he gave, an axe with four blades and decorated them with silver. . . .

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\* Schiel, “Textes Elamite Semitique,” tom. ii. p. 72.

† “*Ana balatu su*” is the usual votive formula of Babylonia.

The inscription concludes with an invocation calling down the curses of Susinak, Samas, Bel, Ea, Sin, and other gods on those who injure this decree.

Another remarkable monument of the early Semitic



ROCK SCULPTURE OF ANU-BANINI.

dominion in Elam and the adjacent lands is the fine stele found at Zohab in the Luristan mountains, which was set up by Anu-Banini, King of the Lulubini.

Here both the art of the sculptor and the text of the accompanying inscription are copied from the Babylonian.

The inscription, which is much mutilated in some places, reads—

“Anu-banini, the mighty King, the King of Lulubi, who his statue, and the statue of Nini (Istar) on Mount Batir caused to be set up.

Whosoever these figures, and this written tablet shall obliterate,

(May) Anu and Anunit and Bel and Beltis, Adad, Istar, and Samas, . . . the god of battle curse him with an evil curse. Destroy his seed, and from the upper sea, to the lower sea of the Ocean, his ancestors and his offspring obliterate.”

The fact that these inscriptions were placed in public places, and written in a Semitic language, would certainly indicate that there was a population of Semites to read them, and it was the knowledge of this fact which led the Hebrew writers to class Elam among the descendants of Shem.

The discoveries made by M. de Morgan at Susa have added much to our knowledge of the history of Elam, but the problem is still far from being solved. The history may be divided into three periods—

(1) The Semitic period, when Babylonian influence was very powerful from about B.C. 3800-2000.

(2) The Kassite period (B.C. 2000).

(3) The Anzanite period (B.C. 750 to Persian conquest).

The Kassites, a powerful body of mountaineers, swept over Elam and Babylonia, establishing a powerful line of kings in the latter kingdom, whose power was not overthrown until the time of the middle Assyrian Empire (B.C. 900-700). Inscriptions of victors bearing Kassite names, and those of Kassite gods, have been found at Susa. The fall of the Babylonian dynasty in B.C. 742 led to the rise of the Elamite or Anzanian line of kings,



whose power rivalled that of Assyria, and whose final overthrow was accomplished by Assurbanipal in B.C. 649, when he sacked and burnt Susa. The destruction of the capital did not, however, obliterate the Anzanian population and power, for Cyrus, before his conquest of Astyages, claims the title of King of Anzan, and so dominant an



SUMERIAN HEAD.

element was this people in the population of Elam, that the second column of the Persian trilingual inscriptions is written in a late form of their language.

The type of these later Elamites is well known to us from the Assyrian monuments, and it shows a mixed race, probably partly Semitic, partly blended

with some of the mountain tribes of Western Persia, the ancient Gutium, the Goim of the Hebrews, a body of warlike tribes, whose descendants are now represented by the Bakhtiaris, among whom the late Sir Henry Layard spent several years of his life.

The language of these later Elamite and Anzanian tribes is an agglutinative tongue, with some slight relations to the Sumerian, but best classed as an Alarodian dialect. The writing, which first appears in Anzanian letters found at Nineveh, and probably, therefore, of the time of Assurbanipal (B.C. 668-625), is a modification of the cursive Babylonian.\*

\* See Weissbach, in "Beitrage zur Assyriologie," Band V.

The next region over which the power of the First of Empires was extended was the kingdom of Assyria. The Biblical account of the foundation of Assyria (Gen. x. 11) clearly makes it a colony from Babylonia, for we read, "Out of that land (Babylonia) he (Nimrod) went forth into Assyria, and builded Nineveh and Rehoboth-Ir, and



EARLY ELAMITE OR KASSITE HEAD.

Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city." The account is somewhat difficult to harmonize with the evidence of the monuments. That Assyria, and its ancient capital Assur, was a colony from Babylonia, every brick and inscription proves. The writing, the religion, the civilization, are all clearly from the Southern Empire. The passage becomes more easy

of explanation if we revise it to read "and builded Nineveh—the city of broad streets\*—and Calah, and Resen between Calah and Nineveh." The arrangement of the cities then forms in chronological order—Assur, marked by the ruins of Kileh-Shergat, on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite the mouth of the Lower Zab ; Calah—the Kalkhu of the Scriptures—at the junction of the Upper Zab and the Tigris ; and Nineveh, at the junction of the Khauser and the Tigris opposite Mosul.

These cities represent three epochs in Assyrian history—

- (1) Assur, the Early Empire (B.C. 2300–900).
- (2) Calah, the Middle Empire (B.C. 900–721).
- (3) Nineveh, the Sargonite Dynasty (B.C. 721–625).

The valuable passage in the opening of the Code inscription of King Khammurabi shows that Assur and Nineveh were flourishing in his time, and were probably ruled by viceroys (*patesi*), appointed by the Babylonian king.

The geographical position of the kingdom of Assyria is very important as exercising very considerable influence on its history. Considerably higher in elevation than the Babylonian plain, the climate was much cooler. On the southern edge the tableland of Iran abuts on that of Armenia, and then stretching to the south-east, it bounds the river valley of the Tigris on the east. From the vast successive ranges, the Zagros of the Greeks, flow the Lycus and Caprus (Upper and Lower Zab), the Adhim and Diala, and many lesser streams. The water which these streams convey to the plain between the Zagros and the Tigris, together with the elevation of the soil, softens

\* In the Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, "the broad streets" of Nineveh are often mentioned.

the heat, and allows olive trees and vines to flourish in the cool air on the hill-slopes, sesame and corn in the valleys between groups of palms and fruit-trees. The backs of the heights which rise to the east are covered with oaks and other trees. As we pass south, and nearer the Elamite frontier, perhaps the Diala, the plain becomes more level, and the soil is little inferior to that of Babylonia in fertility.

In one important feature Assyria differed from Babylonia. Long chains of hills traversed the plain, and stretched here and there, as far as the borders of the two rivers; while the last buttresses of the mountains of Kurdistan came very near the banks of the Tigris. These hills contained limestone of two kinds, one fine, hard, close-grained, the other softer, and more friable. In the plains, gypsum serves as a foundation for the wide banks of clay that spread over the country. Alabaster is to be met with in great quantities, often but little below the soil.\*

Not only was a stone suitable for building purposes easy to be obtained in Assyria, but wood, limited in Chaldea almost entirely to the date-palm, was to be obtained from the mountain ranges of Kurdistan and Armenia; and at an early period the axe of the Assyrian tree-feller was at work among the cedars of Lebanon and Amanus. With this wealth of material at hand, we get a certain amount of difference between the construction and decoration of the palaces of Assyria and those of Chaldea; but not by any means to such a degree as was possible. With stone under his very feet, the Assyrian still built his palace walls of brickwork, and raised lofty platforms of brick and earth like those of the ancient cities of the south,

\* Perrot and Chipiez, "History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria," vol. i. p. 121.

instead of choosing, as he might have done, natural elevations. The rooms of his palaces were still long, narrow galleries, like those of the Assyrian rooms of the British Museum. In fact, as MM. Perrot and Chipiez remark, the Assyrian palaces, especially the earlier buildings of the Midan Empire (B.C. 900-720), bear every appearance of having been designed by Chaldean architects. The Assyrian civilization was, until almost the last days of empire, a mere veneer, and of a very thin kind. The Assyrian never invented anything; not only for its foundation, but for its writing, religion, science, and literature, apart from history, he was indebted to the Chaldeans. If any other proof of the Babylonian origin of Assyria was needed, it would be found in the testimony of every brick or edifice uncovered by the spade of the explorer. The early history of Assyria is still obscure, owing in a great measure to the lack of systematic explorations on the older sites, such as Kileh-Shergat, the ancient Assur, and the lower strata at Nineveh,\* but the notices of the land found in the Babylonian records confirm the Hebrew writer's statement as to its relations with that country. The valuable passage in the opening of the code text of Khammurabi throws a most important light on this subject. Here the king says, "(I am he) who settles the tribes, who directs by law, who restored to the city of Assur its propitious winged bull, making it bright with splendour. The king who, in Nineveh, in the temple of Dub-Dub, made splendid the emblems of Istar." This passage, and the reference in one of the royal letters to the removal of troops from Assyria, clearly indicate that at the time of

\* A full account of all that is known of Assyrian early history is given in "Annals of Assyria," vol. i., edited by Dr. Budge and L. W. King, M.A., and published by the British Museum.

Khammurabi (B.C. 2285) Assyria was a dependency of the Babylonian kingdom. This fragment shows that both Assur and Nineveh were then founded. No mention is made of Calah. The Babylonian origin of the ancient capitals of Assyria is best attested by the names themselves, for none of them admit of explanation by Semitic philology. In the older inscriptions of the *patesi*, or viceroys, who ruled at Assur under their Babylonian overlords, the name of that city is written  $\rightarrow\Upsilon\Upsilon \Upsilon\Upsilon \Upsilon\Upsilon \rightarrow\Upsilon\Upsilon \langle\Upsilon\Upsilon\rangle$ . (*A-ušar*), a compound group, which means in Sumerian



KILEH-SHERGAT, ASSUR.

“the city on the water’s bank”—a name which well describes the situation of Kileh-Shergat, situated on a natural eminence above the west bank of the Tigris, opposite the mouth of the Lower Zab.

Another name also of this city, also of Sumerian origin, was  $\rightarrow\Upsilon\Upsilon \rightarrow\Upsilon \langle\Upsilon\Upsilon\rangle$ . (*Pal-bi(ki)*), “the dwelling of life”—a name which bears every indication of being derived from Babylonia.\* Another important point bearing on the

\* In King’s “Seven Tablets of Creation,” p. 199, there is a mythological fragment which appears to contain a legend of the foundation of Aššur. It is very mutilated, but we have mention of Adad, or Rimmion, to whom there was a temple in Aššur, later restored by Tiglath-pileser I. Here we have small fragmentary lines—“Ansar

Babylonian relations is the topographical position of the chief Assyrian cities; they succeed one another in chronological order from south to north—Assur, Calah, Nineveh—which would seem to indicate that they were successive stations of a gradual expansion of Babylonian power northward.

Such an expansion certainly took place as early as the reign of Sargon of Agade—that is, about B.C. 3800. The discoveries at Nippur, Šuša, and Sirpurra have amply vindicated the historical character of the reigns of Sargon and Naram-Sin, and the dates on contracts of his age recording expeditions against Elam, Gutu, Zakhara, and other states, can certainly not be imaginary. In the tablet of astronomical omens in the British Museum, relating to the reign of Sargon and his son, we have mention of two expeditions against Martu or Amurru—that is, Phœnicia and Palestine—and Sinai. A statue of Naram-Sin was found at Mardin, in Northern Mesopotamia, which would seem to indicate a rule over that region. It is not, therefore, improbable that Assyria was then colonized from the south. Naram-Sin is stated to have conquered Subarti—that is, Northern Mesopotamia; so his conquering army would have passed through Assyria. Another piece of collateral evidence as to the connection between Assyria and Babylonia during the conquering age of Sargon of Agade is found in the fact that Sargon the Tartan, who certainly

(Aššur) opened his mouth and said, . . . above the deep, the abode of (Ea), opposite E. Sara" (there was a temple called by this name in Aššur) "which I have created." A little further on we read, "Upon the earth which thy hands have made . . . raise, and the city of Aššur (*Pal-bi(ki)*) thou shall proclaim its name." It would seem as if we have here an attempt on the part of the Assyrian scribes to build up a legend of the divine foundation of Aššur, using the Babylonian creation legends as a model.

bore another name before he came to the throne—possibly the Jareb of Hosea v. 15—chose the name of the great ethnic hero of the Semites.

A mythological poem, which records the exploits of the plague-god Ura, or Nerra, gives us a very fair description of the geographical horizon of the Babylonians in the epic age. Where the spread of the epidemic is described, and of war and anarchy associated with it, we read—

“ Thus spake Ura the warrior :  
 Sea-coast against sea-coast (Syria),  
 Subartu against Subartu (N. Mesopotamia),  
 Assyrian against Assyrian,  
 Elamite against Elamite,  
 Kassite against Kassite,  
 Sutu against Sutu (Kurdistan),  
 Kutu against Kutu (Luristan),  
 Lulubite against Lulubite,  
 Country against country, house against house,  
 One is to show no mercy to another,  
 They shall slay one another.”

With regard to Nineveh, its Babylonian origin is most clearly indicated. The writing of the name with the ideogram  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , literally “fish town,” or “fish dwelling,” is the same as that of the fish goddess Nina of Southern Chaldea, the daughter of Ea, whose name forms an element in that of Ur Nina (“Man of Nina”), one of the oldest known rulers of Chaldea. Like most of the female divinities of the older empire, the goddess Nina became absorbed by the Istar of the northern Semites. To her was dedicated one of the quarters of the city of Sirpurra, called the city of Nina, a prototype of the Assyrian capital. In the inscription of Khammurabi the name of the local goddess is written  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  (Nini)—that is, Istar. Nineveh was essentially the sacred city of Istar, and her temple



was *Bit-kitmuri* ("the house of war"). There were two prominent forms of Istar worshipped in Assyria—the Istar of Nineveh and the Istar of Arbela; and both were of Babylonian origin. The first, a warlike goddess, a type of the old Babylonian Nana of Erech; the latter, a goddess of witchcraft and oracles, who resembles the Circe-like Istar of the Chaldean epic, who changed her lovers into animals. Most of the Assyrian towns had their local Istars, resembling the local Madonnas of Spain or Italy.

The Babylonian affinities of the Ninevite goddess are indicated in a most interesting manner in the writings of the Hebrew prophet Nahum, who may have been, as many writers think, a native of the city of El Kosh, near the modern Mosul, and who wrote apparently (*vide* vii. 8) about the time of Assurbanipal.

The epithets, so bitterly scathing, which the Hebrew prophet applies to Nineveh and its patron goddesses might be taken verbatim from the cuneiform tablets. "Nineveh hath been from old time like a pool of water," seems at once to associate it with the old Sumerian goddess Nina, the "lady of the pools and fish-ponds." The curious passage (iii. 7, 8), "Huzzab is uncovered; she is carried away, and her handmaids mourn as with the voice of doves tabering upon their breasts." The name Huzzab seems clearly the Babylonian *Exibu* ("the divorced one"), while the reference to the handmaids recalls the two attendant maids of Istar of Erech, Samkhat, or Ukhat ("pleasure"), and Kharimat ("the devotee"), who figure so prominently in the Chaldean epic. While the mourning as doves finds its exact counterpart in one of the penitential psalms, where we read, "How long, O my lady, will thy countenance be turned from me? Like doves I lament; I weary myself with sighs." In a beautiful



Photo, Menell.

GODDESS ISTAR OF NINEVEH.  
(British Museum.)



penitential litany addressed to Istar, recently published by Mr. King, we have these words—

“ My heart hath taken wing, and hath flown away like a bird of Heaven  
I mourn like a dove night and day ;  
I am desolate, I weep bitterly.  
With grief and woe ; my spirit is distressed.” \*

It would seem as if the Hebrew prophet were drawing upon Assyrian literature for his sarcasms. More important than these references to the licentious character of the worship of Istar are his allusions to her character as a goddess of war, for it is in this character that he is most prominent in Assyrian literature, and most truly appears as the national goddess.

He cries out, “ Woe to the bloody city ! it is all full of lies and rapine ; the prey departeth not. The noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of wheels ; and pransing horses, and jumping chariots ; the horseman mounting, and the flashing sword, and the glittering spear ; and a multitude of slain, and a great heap of carcasses ; and there is none end of the corpses, because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the well-favoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts” (iii. 1-5).

From the hymn already quoted above we have a very graphic description of this Assyrian goddess of war.

“ I pray unto thee, lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses,  
O Istar, queen of people, directress of the human race ;  
O Irnini, thou art raised on high (as) Mistress of the Spirits of  
Heaven (Angels) ; -  
Thou art mighty, thou hast sovereign power, exalted is thy name ;

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\* Published by Mr. L. W. King as an appendix to his “ Seven Tablets of Creation,” vol. i. pp. 222-237, and the text in vol. ii. pl. lxxv. *f*. I have given only such extracts as illustrate the words of Nahum.

Thou art the Illuminator of Heaven and Earth, O valiant daughter  
of the Moon-god,  
Ruler of weapons, regulator of battle,  
Who legislates all decrees, wearer of the crown of dominion.  
O lady, brilliant is thy greatness ; over all the gods it is exalted.  
Thou art the cause of lamentation ; thou sowest hostility among  
brethren who are at peace.\*  
Thou art the bestower of strength ;  
Thou art strong, O Lady of Victory ; thou canst obtain by force that  
which I desire.  
O Gutira, thou who art girt with battle, and clothed with terror.  
*(lines 1-12.)*

\* \* \* \* \*  
Terrible in the fight, one who cannot be opposed, strong in battle.  
O whirlwind that roarest against the foe, and cuttest off the mighty.  
O furious Istar, who gathers together hosts."

It is this furious war goddess who best represents the character of the Assyrian nation. War was the life of the nation—its sole means of existence. If we read the chronicles of the Assyrian kings from the earliest times to the fall of the empire, commencing, say, with the cylinder of Tiglath-pileser (B.C. 1120), and ending with the great cylinder of Assurbanipal (B.C. 625), it is one unending chronicle of bloodshed. Only a few examples need be quoted—

"In the fierceness of my valour, for the second time to the country of Kummukh I marched. All their cities I captured ; their spoil, their goods, their property, I carried away.

"Their cities with fire I burned, threw down, and dug up. The remnant of their armies, who, before my mighty weapons, were afraid, and fled from the onset of my mighty battle, and, to save their lives, sought the lofty mountain peaks. (These) in the fastnesses of the lofty ranges and the ravines of inaccessible mountains, unsuited

\* Compare Nahum iii. 4, 5.

to the tread of men, I ascended after. Trial of weapons, and combat and battle, they assayed with me. A destruction I made of them. The bodies of their warriors in the ravines of the mountains, like the inundator Adad (Storm-god), I overthrew ; their corpses over the valleys and high places of the mountains I scattered." \*

Throughout the whole of the annals of Aššurnazirpal, Shalmaneser, and the kings of the Middle Assyrian Empire, the same continuous chronicle of war, rapine, fire, sword, and massacre is maintained ; and even when we come to the more enlightened age of the Sargonide dynasty (B.C. 721-625) the same details are found best clothed in a more finished literary style.

The cruelties recorded in the inscriptions are represented with minutest detail in the sculptures, the piling up of corpses, heads, the impalements, mutilations, flayings, burnings, etc., being the stock incidents of war employed by the sculptors. The bas-reliefs of the Ballawat Gates, or the sculptures from Nimroud of Aššurnazirpal, or the Lacish panorama of Sennacherib, may be cited as examples. The annual war was the safety-valve of Assyria, no doubt having its origin in the tribal *ghazi*, or raid of the Arabs. And a glance at the Eponym Canon, recording the events of each year from B.C. 858-704, proves how necessary it was to have this annual outlet for the fierce youth of Assyria ; for wherever there is no war there is trouble at home. Still more striking proof of this militarism of Assyria is afforded by the records of the lives of the rulers of the last dynasty of Assyria, the most civilized period, and the age which gave us the best art and literature the empire ever produced. Of the four monarchs who composed the dynasty, one only died a peaceful death. Sargon,

\* Tiglath-pileser I., Cylinder, Col. III. 11-29.

the founder, was assassinated by a soldier in his palace in B.C. 705, and on the 20th day of the month Tebeth (December), B.C. 681, Sennacherib was slain by his son, and his death followed by a revolution. Esarhaddon died a natural death on the 10th day of Marchesvan (October), B.C. 668 ; and although we have no record of the death of Assurbanipal, it was in all probability a violent one. Had we the chronicles of the reigns of the earlier kings, we should no doubt find that many of them ended in a tragedy. It is no exaggeration to say that such a palace scene as occurred in Belgrade a few months ago would have excited the people of Nineveh as little as it did the Servians.

When we contrast the Assyrian with the Semites of the southern empire of Babylonia, the differences between the two nations is most marked, and at first difficult to account for.

With that innate adaptability which has made the Semite in all ages and all lands assimilate himself to his surroundings, the Semite in Babylonia found the outlet for his energies in trade. The early expansion of the Babylonian Empire under Sargon and Naram-Sin was as much a matter of trade, the opening up of new lands, as a matter of military policy. Again, the southern Semite rapidly became fascinated with the literary tastes of the Sumerian population, and, as the seals of the Sargonide period show, the Epic of Gilgames-Nimrod had already been composed ; and as early as B.C. 2500 independent Semitic poems were extant. As time went on, the Babylonian Semites threw themselves heart and soul into the pursuit of learning, until by the time of the Arabian dynasty (B.C. 2300), and especially during the reigns of Khammurabi and his successors, Babylon became as

great a home of letters, and Borsippa, the Catholic University of Western Asia, as Baghdad was under the Abbasides.

With the northern Semites all was different. As I have already said, the Assyrians were a race of soldiers, and this branch of the Semites found the outlet for their hot blood in the annual wars. Instead of trade, tribute and plunder supplied their wants. We often hear of Assyrian literature, but in a strict sense no such thing existed until the last century of the empire. The bare and monotonous chronicles of the early and middle empires can in no way claim to be literature, and even the best efforts of the historians of the time of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal do not attain a very high standard.

The establishment of the royal library at Nineveh, probably late in the reign of Assurbanipal, was due to no love of literature, but to the exigencies of politics. Formerly, all those who would hold state positions, or religious offices, were educated in the temple schools of the southern land, but the political activity of the Babylonian priests, and their open support of the Home Rule movement represented by Merodach-baladan and other Chaldean princes, led to the transference of the seat of learning to Nineveh.

Babylonian influence continued to all time, even to this day; the power of Assyria died for ever with the fall of Nineveh. The one was the empire of the pen: the other the power of the sword. But there is another element to be taken into consideration in explaining this marked contrast between Babylonia and Assyria.

Essentially the Assyrian, by race and language, was a Semite; but an examination of the representation of the sculptures show certain differences from the general Semitic



type. It must be remembered that there is no such thing as an Assyrian portrait. They never made portraits of themselves, perhaps on account of the evil eye, for the Assyrians were as great believers in the *malo occhio* as the Italians ; but there was a type-figure of kings, gods, and soldiers. Now, here we have a race that differs from the Semite, as represented by Babylonians, Jews, or Arabs in the sculptures. The men are taller, more muscular and athletic, with dark blue-black beards and hair, as we know from some few fragments of coloured sculpture from Khorsabad and Nimroud. Here we would seem to have an infusion of the mountain races of Kurdistan and Armenia, races which now survived in the fierce and bloodthirsty Kurd.

I have dealt thus fully with the Assyrian Empire, because I have long been convinced that among the general readers a most strangely exaggerated conception of the Assyrians and their civilization has existed.

Passing north-west, we come to a region that was early in contact with the land of Nimrod. Between the upper course of the Tigris and the Euphrates lay a fertile steppe, broken by ranges of hills dividing the basins of the Khabur and Belik rivers, and rising gradually as we approach the mountains of Western Armenia. This region was the Aram Naharaim of the Bible (Judges iii. 8), the Nari of the Assyrians, the Naharina of the Egyptians. Here in the fifteenth century, in the age contemporary with the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, was situated the important Mesopotamian kingdom of Mitanni, of which we knew nothing until the discovery of the letters of its rulers in the treasury of Khu-en-Aten, or Amenophis IV., at Tel-el-Amarna. It must have been a kingdom of considerable importance and wealth, for the

kings of Egypt. Amenophis III., and possibly his son, Khu-en-Aten, married daughters of the kings of Mitanni; and Queen Tia, one of the most powerful female characters in Egyptian history, was a daughter of the king Duišratta. The period of the kings of Mitanni, however, is outside of the scope of this volume.

The connection between this region and Babylonia probably commenced, like that of Assyria, with the Semitic expansion, about B.C. 3800, but at present our records do not reach so great an age. The most important city in this region was the city of Kharran, a city which also figures in the earliest chronicles of the Hebrew people. In Genesis xi. we have the record of the migration of the Hebrew patriarch from his Chaldean birthplace, Ur of the Kasdim—that is, the Sumerian Ur, or Mughier. Ur was the chief centre of moon-worship in Babylonia, and probably one of the earliest cities in which the Semites settled. The moon-cult has left its mark on the Abrahamic genealogies, for of the names, the majority are either lunar names, or associated with the moon.

Terah = Tarakhu (the gazelle, sacred to moon-goddess Istar).

Nahor = Nannar (the name of the moon in Ur and Kharran).

Abram = Abu-ramu (a title of the moon-god).

Sarah = Šarratu (Queen) } Both titles of moon-  
Milcah = Milkatu (Princess) } goddess.

Laban = Labanu ("the white one"), name of the moon-god of Kharran.

The association between Ur and Kharran which the Bible records (Gen. xi. 31, 32) is amply borne out by the monuments and by traditions associated with the latter city. The modern town of Kharran is situated on the

upper waters of the Belik, about seventy miles from where it joins the Euphrates, and occupies a curiously central position in the area of Northern Mesopotamia, and it is about six hundred miles north-west of Ur. A short distance from the modern town are a large group of mounds called Eski-Harran (Old Kharran), marking the site of the ancient city, and the exploration of them would probably produce most important results. There is a curious Arab tradition that the city of Kharran was built in the shape of a crescent moon, and the configuration of the group of mounds bears this out.

From the earliest times the city was associated with moon and star worship, and Sabianism flourished here until long after the Christian era.

The earliest mention of the city occurs in the astronomical tablets, where it is associated with Sulpa-uddu or Mercury, which is called "the star of the men of Kharran." In the inscriptions of the Middle Assyrian empire Kharran appears as a halting-place, and we know from the inscriptions of Nabonidus, who restored the temple there, that both Shalmaneser and Assurnazirpal restored that edifice. Sargon II. (B.C. 721) states that he restored the "laws and institutions of Kharran," possibly some local code like that of Khammurabi. One interesting historical event in connection with Kharran is recorded on a small despatch tablet in the British Museum. It was here that Esarhaddon decided on making his son regent when he started upon his Egyptian war, and died during the campaign. We are told that he saw the moon with two crowns on its head, that is, a double halo, and so he decided to have two crowned heads in Assyria.

The most important inscription relating to Kharran is the cylinder of Nabonidus, found at Sippara, in which

he records the restoration of the temple of the moon-god there, which had been destroyed by the Scythians.

“E. Khulkhul (‘the house of brilliance’), which is in Kharran, in which, from time immemorial, Sin (moon) the great had raised his favoured seat within it; against that city and temple his heart became enraged, and he caused the Barbarians (*Zab manda*) \* to attack it.

“In my legitimate reign, Bel, the great lord, through love of my kingdom, was gracious, and showed mercy to that city and temple. In the beginning of my everlasting reign he caused me to see a dream: Sin, the illuminator of heaven and earth, stood beside me (together with) Marduk, and spake with me, saying—

“‘Nabonidus, King of Babylon, carry bricks with thy chariots and horses, rebuild E. Khulkhul, and cause Sin the great lord to set up his abode within it.’

“Reverently I spake to the lord of the gods, Merodach.

“‘The Barbarians (Scythians) of whom thou speakest encompassed that house which thou commandest me to rebuild, and great is their might.’

“Then Merodach spake to me, saying—

“‘The Barbarians of whom thou hast spoken, they and their country are no more. In the course of the third year he caused Cyrus, King of Anzan (Elam), his lesser servant, † to attack them, and with his small army he routed the widespread Barbarians. He seized Astyages, king of the Barbarians, and as his captive took him to his own land.’

\* Here the *Zab manda* represent the Scythians, who swept over Western Asia, about B.C. 607, as far as Ashdod in Palestine.

† Compare Isa. xliv. 28; xlv. 1. Nabonidus himself was the chief servant of Marduk, but Cyrus was doing the work of the Babylonian god by overthrowing the Medes, so he becomes also a servant.

“These were the words of the great lord Merodach, and Sin, the illuminator of heaven and earth, whose command changes not. At their illustrious command I was afraid, and overcome, and much depressed. I did not delay, did not turn back. I took no rest. I caused my numerous troops to march from Gaza (*Khāssati*), on the borders of the land of Egypt, and from the upper on the other side of the Euphrates, and from the lower sea. Kings, princes, and governors, and my widespread army which Sin, Šamaš, and Istar my lords had entrusted to me. I gathered to rebuild E. Khulkhul, the temple of Sin my lord, who marches beside me, which is in Kharran, and which Assurbanipal, King of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, a prince, my predecessor had built.

“In a favourable month, on a fortunate day, which in a vision Sin and Šamaš had revealed to me, with the deep knowledge of Ea, with the skill of Laban (the brick-god), the lord of foundations and brickwork, (I made); with silver, gold, and precious stones, and costly products of the forest, sweet-smelling cedar, with joy and rejoicing I laid its foundation. On the foundation of Assurbanipal, King of Assyria, who had seen a foundation-stone of Shalmaneser, the foundation I laid, and made strong its brickwork. With wines, oil, and honey its foundation I dressed and poured upon the temenos wall. More than any of the kings my fathers I strengthened its work, and perfected its design. That temple, from its foundation to its roof, I constructed and completed its design. Great beams of cedar-wood, the products of Mount Ammanus, I placed upon it. Double doors of cedar, whose surface was bright, in the gateways I hung; with silver and gold its walls I plated, causing (them) to shine like crystal. Colossal bulls of bright *zakhhi* stone . . . of my footsteps . . . I placed in

his dwelling. Two great figures of Lakhinu of *išmaru* (metal), who sweeps away my foes, in the gate of the rising sun (east), on the right and left, I placed.

“(Then) the hands of Sin (moon), Ningal (moon-goddess), Nušku, and the god Sar-dar-nuna,\* my lords from Šuanna † my capital, I took, and with joy and rejoicing to their favoured abode I caused them to enter. Within it a holocaust of victims I offered, and caused presents to be brought before them. E. Khulhul with rejoicing I filled; the whole of Kharran I made its splendour as bright as the rising moon.”

*The King's Prayer.*

“O Sin, the king of the gods of heaven and earth, who in former time had abandoned that city and land, and had not returned to his abode, and to E. Khulhul his dwelling-house had not come, now on thy entry favour to that city and temple may be established by thy word. The gods, the dwellers in heaven and earth, may they also draw near to the house of Sin their creator.

“For myself, Nabonidus, King of Babylon, the one who completed that temple, may Sin, the king of the gods of heaven and earth, in the lifting up of his propitious eyes joyfully regard me; each month at its dawn and even may he favour my handiwork; may he prolong my days; may he watch over my years and make firm my rule. May he overcome my enemies, and smite down my foes, and overpower my opponents. Ningal, the great mother of the gods, in the presence of Sin her lover may she speak of me; Samas and Istar, the beloved offspring of his heart, to Sin the father their begetter may they

\* Perhaps a god of the pantheon of Mitanni.

† Šuanna was the temple quarter of Babylon.

favourably mention me. Nušku, the supreme messenger, may he hear my prayers and intercede for me."

*Restoration of Ancient Records.*

"The inscription, the writing of the name of Assurbanipal, King of Assyria, I saw I did not injure it; with oil I anointed it, and victims I offered; and with my own inscription I set it and restored it to its place."

This inscription affords conclusive proof of the close association between Kharran and Babylonia, and of the holy character of the city and its temple. These facts explain the reason why the Hebrew writers make Kharran the resting-place of Abram, for the cultus of Kharran, the moon-worship, was the same as that of Ur of the Chaldees.

There is additional proof of the Babylonian origin of this city in the name Kharran, which is from the Sumerian Kharan ("a road"), the Semitic *daragu*, Hebrew *dereg*, the name no doubt being derived from the position of the town as the focus of all the roadways of Northern Mesopotamia. Both Assyrian and Egyptian records agree in testifying to the wealth of this land. From the tribute lists of Thothmes III. (B.C. 1600) we learn that the tribute of Naharina consisted of horses, cattle, goats, fruits, wine, oil, balsam, gold, silver, lead, precious stones, lapis lazuli, and the artificial blue clay largely used as a substitute for the real stone;\* while the Assyrian king, Tiglath-pileser I. (B.C. 1120), states that he carried away "vast herds of horses, swift mules, and cattle in countless numbers,"† and placed on the kingdom a tribute of "twelve hundred horses and two thousand head of cattle." For both the

\* Brugsch, "History of Egypt," vol i. p. 404.

† "Annals of Assyria," p. 69.

Egyptian and Assyrian kings this region had a special attraction as a hunting-ground, for here both lions and elephants abounded. Here Amenophis III. killed one hundred and two lions,\* and the Assyrian kings hunted the wild bull, lion, and elephant in the neighbourhood of Kharran. In his cylinder inscription, Tiglath-pileser says, "There mighty bull elephants, in the country of Kharran and in the district of the Khabur, I slew, and four elephants alive I caught, their hides and their tusks to my city of Assur I brought. At the bidding of Ninip (god of hunting) one hundred and twenty lions, by my bold courage and my strong attack on foot, I have slain, and eight hundred lions in my hunting-chariot I have laid low. All kinds of beasts of the field and birds of heaven that fly to my hunting spoils I have added."† On the broken obelisk in the British Museum, which contains a record of the hunting expeditions of this king, some further details of the rich animal life of this region are given. The king says, "In the land of the Nairi ibexes, mountain goats, hinds, and stags in nets he captured, and large numbers he collected and caused their herds to bring forth young, and as a flock of sheep he counted them. Panthers, wild boars, wild asses, etc., he captured."‡

We know little, as yet, as to the inhabitants of this important region of Mitanni, or the land of Nairi, our earliest information being derived from the letters of the kings of this region found at Tel-el-Amarna. It is evident, from the correspondence with Amenophis III. (B.C. 1430), that, like the peoples of Syria and Palestine, the people of this region had so far come under the influence of Babylon

\* Budge, "History of Egypt," vol. iv. p. 99.

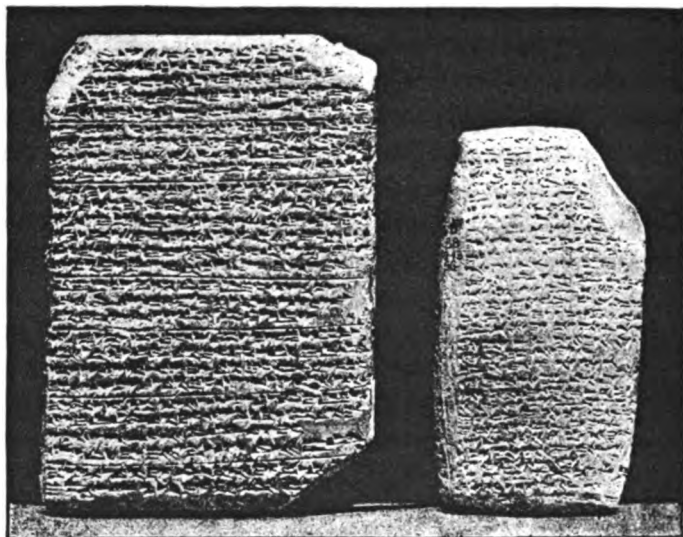
† "Annals of Assyria," p. 85.

‡ Ibid., p. 141.



during the rule of the Arabian and subsequent Kassite dynasties (B.C. 2300-1200) as to adopt the cuneiform mode of writing, and to employ a Semitic tongue for their correspondence with the rulers of Egypt. The letters of Tushrattu to the Pharaoh were written in this tongue.

The inhabitants of this region had, however, progressed beyond the Syrian and Phœnician scribes in being able



TEL-EL-AMARNA TABLETS.

to adapt the cuneiform syllabary to their own tongue; and we possess a number of letters written in the native dialect of Mitanni. These tablets have been studied by many scholars—Sayce, Bruennow, Jensen, and others—but as yet no definite knowledge of the philological position of this lost tongue has been attained. It presents some resemblance to the pre-Aryan language of the Vannic or Armenian inscriptions which have been deciphered by

Professors Sayce and Guyard, but not sufficient to enable us to ascertain its character and position.

I cannot conclude the notice of this important region of Western Asia over which the empire of Nîmrod exercised its power without calling attention to the important field of exploration which it affords. Beneath the mounds of Eski Harran (Old Harran) there must be the remains of the famous temple of the moon-god, and here are the means of solving most important problems in the history of Assyria, Babylonia, and of the early stages of Hebrew record. Perhaps there still lies perdu amid the *débris* of that ancient fane the record of Abram and his fellow-colonists from Ur of the Chaldees. The Babylonian dominion extended to the shores of the Mediterranean at a very early period. The king of Kish, Lugalzaggisi, speaks of having marched from the lower sea of Elam—that is, the Persian Gulf—to the upper sea, but the first king to exercise any permanent rule over the seaboard was Sargon I. by his expeditions to the west land, the land of Amurri. One of these expeditions was prolonged for three years, when he went to the land of the setting sun and set up a statue there. This seems certainly to indicate an expedition to Cyprus. We must remember that Sargon II. (B.C. 721) sent an expedition to Cyprus, and set up a fine monolith statue of himself there, which is now in the museum at Berlin. A seal of Naram Sin, certainly later than his time, was found at Curium by De Cesnola, and there is no reason why the second Sargon should not have been following the precedent of his namesake of three thousand years prior to his time. This subject will be more fully treated of later on, when I deal with the historical inscriptions.

One other region which was brought into early and

close contact with Babylonia was the peninsula of Sinai. In the earliest records of the inscriptions of Ur-Nina, King of Sirpurra, which cannot be placed later than B.C. 4500, we have records of the king sending from his land to the land of Magan (𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒀭𒊩𒌆) for hard stone and hard wood with which to make his statues. Sargon and Naram Sin conquered this region, while the inscriptions of Gudea, Viceroy of Sirpurra (B.C. 2800), mention many expeditions by ship to this region. The geographical inscriptions in the library at Nineveh throw much light on this important land and its products. It is frequently coupled with the land of *Mulukhkha* (𒀭𒊩𒌆 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒀭𒊩𒌆), a land producing gold, and which certainly lay on the frontiers of Egypt; as in the cylinder of Assurbanipal, who commences the account of his Egyptian war with the words, "In my first campaign I marched to Magan and Milukhkha, Tirhakah, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, whose defeat Esarhaddon my father had brought about, and whose land he had taken possession of, he forgot the power of Assur and Istar and the great gods my lords."\* In the geographical lists the two countries are always associated, and in one valuable fragment in the British Museum (83-1-18,836)† we have the important association Muzri and Milukhkha. The lists of countries, with their products, show that Milukhkha was a land producing alluvial gold; while Magan was a land producing hard wood, hard stone and copper, and the blue stone or turquoise. There is only one region which fulfils the conditions as to its products, and the testimony of the most ancient records of

\* Rassam Cylinder, Col. I., lines 52 *et seq.*

† On the importance of this fragment as demolishing the theory of Winckler and Cheyne of a North Arabian Kingdom of Muzri, see Budge, "History of Egypt," vol. vi. p. xxiii.

both Egypt and Chaldea are agreed in pointing to the peninsula of Sinai. This peninsula, rich in volcanic rocks, produces porphyry, diorite, and other hard stones, the very rocks which the earliest kings of both Egypt and Chaldea employed for their everlasting memorial statues. Take, for example, the fine diorite statue of Khafra, or Kephren, the builder of the second pyramid (B.C. 3700), or the fine statue of Gudea (B.C. 2800).

Here, too, were found also copper, and the blue and green turquoise so prized in antiquity. We know from the Babylonian inscriptions that Sargon and Naram-Sin of Agade invaded this region about B.C. 3750. On the other hand, we have a record of Seneferu, the first king of the fourth Egyptian dynasty, almost contemporary, in which he states that he drove out the foreign stone-cutters from the mines. This bas-relief and inscription is cut



GUDEA STATUE.

upon the rocks of the Wady Maghara, near to the quarries and mines.

The inscription reads, "Senefru the great god, the subduer of foreign lands, giver of power, stability of life, all health and all joy of heart for ever." From that time onward the possession of the mines of Sinai was looked upon by the kings of Egypt as a sacred trust, and a garrison of troops was kept there, and criminals were employed to work in the mines. The evidence of the care taken to preserve this valuable property can be seen in the Wady Maghara to this day. Senefru conquered the inhabitants of the country and seized the mines, then held by foreigners, and built strong forts in the neighbourhood for Egyptian troops to live in, and to serve as places of refuge for the miners when suddenly attacked by natives; and the ruins of certain stone buildings which exist in the Wady to this day have been identified by modern travellers as the forts of Senefru.

Now, taking all the above facts into consideration, it seems much more reasonable to identify Magan with Sinai, adjacent to Muzri or Egypt, on the one side, and Milukhkha on the other, that is, the gold-producing land of Midian, than to seek, as Glaser and Hommel have done, to locate it on the western side of the Persian Gulf, where no region which could produce the characteristic products of Magan is to be found.

From this summary of monumental evidence we see how widespread was the influence of Babylonia in ancient times, and how great was the power of this first of empires, whose dominion extended from the mountains of Persia to the shores of the sea of the setting sun, and from the snow-clad slopes of the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf.

## CHAPTER II

### BEGINNINGS OF BABYLONIAN CIVILIZATION

**I**N the study of the origin and growth of an ancient civilization, no problem needs, where possible, to be so carefully investigated as that of primitive environment—that is, the physical surroundings amid which its earliest stages were developed. It is in man's early efforts to adapt himself to his surroundings, and by his gradually increasing knowledge to improve and modify his daily life to the conditions of his environment, which constitute the beginnings of civilization. It is this struggle for existence under the best and improved circumstances that has produced the first stages of progress, and called into being the earliest forms of art and science.

Man, with the faculty of reason, found a means to the end desired, and thus rose above the animal and became a tool-maker. He it was who recognized the fact that nature, when assisted even in the smallest degree, became infinitely more prolific in her food-producing bounty; hence the genesis of the tiller of the soil and the science of agriculture.

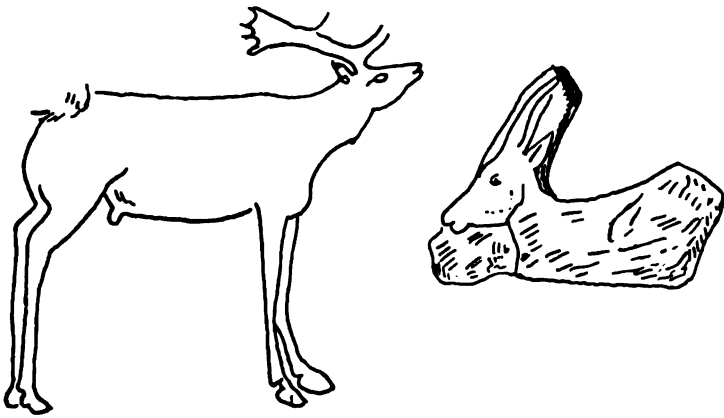
Man studies his environment, learns from it, and modifies and adapts the objects of nature to his wants. How simple are the circumstances which lead to the beginnings of the useful arts? For example, it was in all probability

a bird's nest that suggested to primitive man's mind the first basket ; and the clay-lined basket became the first pot, sharing the priority with the gourd and the shell. The clay-lined basket subjected to fire became a pot, but the basket origin was not lost. In almost all ancient civilizations hand-made pottery, before the invention of a wheel, was first made upon a basket framework, as it is to this day among the Kabylee of North Africa ; but even when this was dispensed with, the basket origin was still indicated by basket-work being the style of decoration. It is curious to notice that in the prehistoric pottery of Egypt these decorations are on the inside of the pots, where once the marking of the wicker framework was. For examples, see the prehistoric pottery from Hu and Abadiyeh in the Edwards Museum University College ; or, for a Chaldean example, the large vases found at Nippur.

It was plaiting first applied to basket-work and mat-making that first led to the beginnings of the art of weaving, and textile work, we shall find, is the basis of the decorative art of Chaldea and Assyria. The problem of adaptation to environment calls into play all the earliest intellectual faculties of man, and it is therefore all the more important to master its details, as far as possible, in our study of the growth and development of the civilization and arts of an ancient people.

There is also another important factor to be borne in mind. As man is alone a tool-making animal, and thereby elevates himself above the brute creation, so also he possesses another faculty which distinguishes him from even the highest forms of animal life. Whatever arguments may be advanced for the descent of man from the apidæ, there is one great barrier as yet unbroken. Man is the

only animal that draws. Even in the lowest types of the human race, and in the most ancient specimens of the human race in the remote geological ages, this faculty is found to have been exercised. Often it is most strangely developed in proportion to all other elements which combine to constitute civilization. Take, for example, the lowest types of the human race—the dwarf Bushmen of South Africa—who possess only the barest modicum



## CAVE DRAWINGS.

(1) ENGRAVED PEBBLE :  
MONTASTRUC BRUNIQUEL.

(2) HEAD OF IBEX :  
LAUGERIE BASSE.

of civilization, yet are expert artists, as shown by their rock and cave drawings. The prehistoric dwellers of Southern France, the contemporaries of the mammoth and the cave bear, even amid their glacial surroundings, had developed no mean artistic faculty, as shown by their drawings on bone and horn. Their environment was of the most uncongenial type, their stage of culture but that of savage hunters and fishers, as shown by the rude stone and bone implements; yet at the same time their carvings and



scratched outline drawings show an extraordinary sense of art. It was this inherent graphic instinct which caused them to record the incidents of their far remote life upon this earth—the hunter his exploits, the reindeer-keeper the pick of his herd. So also in the Nile Valley the pre-historic Lybian settlers, who buried their dead in the shallow graves on the sand-dunes of the Nile valley, as may be seen in the Mummy Room of the British Museum, were no mean artists, as shown by the drawings of gazelles, hippos, and other animals found by Professor Petrie in their tombs.

In this graphic faculty, where man gives expression to his desire to record events, he possesses a clear line of demarcation from even the highest form of the anthropoids, for none as yet has ever shown any natural tendency to draw, or has it been possible to teach them to do so. It is to this faculty that we trace the beginning of the pictorial and literary arts. The art of writing has been well defined by Professor Tylor as "the art of recording events and transmitting messages." Long before the rude picture became associated with language, it served as a graphic record of some episode in the life of primitive man, calling into being in the minds of those who gazed upon it by a species of silent telegraphy the event which it was desired to commemorate. Intellectual progress, however, soon led to the use of graphic symbols to express associated ideas, words, and language, and hence the genesis of writing. It is this stage of ideography which is one of the most important for the study of the beginnings of art and civilization, and which, fortunately, we find highly developed and preserved in the primitive script of the Tigris-Euphrates valley.

From the above reasons we find a pictorial basis to all

the primitive and indigenous systems of ancient Oriental writing, such as the hieroglyphics of Egypt, the linear and cuneiform writings of Chaldea, and the strange and undeciphered inscriptions of North Syria and Asia Minor, somewhat conjecturally assigned to the Hittites, as well as the strange syllabary of the Ægean people found by Mr. Arthur Evans in Crete.

The pictorial basis of these ancient scripts is of the greatest value to us in the study of primitive en-



DRAWING ON STONE OF URNINA,  
B.C. 4500.

vironment, for it is in these primitive signs that man pictures the surroundings of his home—the fauna, flora, and other common objects around him.

For the purpose of this work, the Mesopotamian valley may be divided generally into two portions. First, Babylonia, extending from the Persian Gulf to about three hundred miles north, and forming a triangle, of which the Tigris and Euphrates form the sides, and the basis a line drawn from Sammarah on the former river to Hit on the latter, a distance of about one hundred and twenty-five miles. The second portion is Assyria, situated to the north-east of Babylonia, and extending from the Lower Zab to Armenian and Kurdish Mountains, with an area of about seventy-five thousand miles. The physical features of the two districts are so different, that it will be best to reserve our study of Assyrian geography

until the culture of that nation is more directly under consideration.

Few regions in the ancient Oriental world were better suited to be the cradle-land of a primitive civilization than the rich alluvial plain of Chaldea. River-born, river-nourished, like the Nile valley, its naturally fertile nature was increased to an astounding degree by the slightest assistance from the hand of man. From the earliest times the efforts of the inhabitants of this land were directed to the controlling and distribution of the fertilizing waters of the dual streams, especially those of the slower, and richly laden with alluvial waters of the Euphrates, called justly "the River of Life," and soon the land became intersected with a network of canals, and studded with reservoirs, which caused it to become a veritable garden of the gods. There is little wonder, therefore, that tradition has always located here the Garden of Eden.

Ample evidence, perhaps, is afforded by the hundreds of revenue tablets, giving the return of corn and dates, flocks, herds, etc., at a period about B.C. 2500, which are exhibited in the British Museum, while others, dating fully a thousand years earlier, are to be seen in the museums of Paris and Constantinople, that the food problem dominated all life. Corn was the staff and standard of life, and the value of all commodities was estimated by a corn value. This is proved by the sign for price (No. 53) being composed of corn and measure; and long after the introduction of a silver tariff the price of corn ruled the value of land. An astonishing proof of the antiquity of an organized civilization in Chaldea has been furnished by the long archaic inscription found by M. de Morgan at Susa. The inscription, written on an



OLDEST RECEIPTED BILL IN THE WORLD.



obelisk of granite, is inscribed in most archaic characters of the linear type, many only in a very slight degree removed from the pictorial, as the accompanying table of characters shows. The inscription is a land-purchase deed of certain estates, fields, etc., in Southern Chaldea, purchased by a certain Manishtu-su, King of Kish, who was contemporary with the earliest kings of Chaldea, especially the rulers of Tello and Nippur, and whose date may be certainly placed prior to B.C. 4000. From the inscription I select the following valuation of land and other objects, a passage which undoubtedly constitutes the oldest bill in the world:—

As an example of the general contents of this inscription, I select this extract (Face C, Col. VII. 19 to Col. IX. 15)—

$(3 \times 1080) + (3 \times 108) + (3 \times 18)$	
<i>gan</i> (padanu)	= 3834 feddan area.
<i>sim-su</i>	= its price.
$(3 \text{ se} \times 3600) + (3 \times 600) +$	
$(3 \times 60) \text{ gan saggal}$	= 12,780 kor of seed-corn.
<i>1 siklu kaspi</i>	= at 1 shekel silver.
<i>1 se gur saggal</i>	= per kor of seed-corn.
<i>kaspu su</i>	= its money value.
<i>3 bilti 33 mana kaspi</i>	= 3 talents 33 mana silver.
<i>sim ekli</i>	= price of the field.
<i>40 bilti sipatu</i>	= 40 talents of wool.
<i>simu</i>	= the price.
<i>1 siklu kaspi</i>	= 1 shekel of silver.
<i>4 manu sipatu</i>	= 4 mana of wool.
<i>kasap-sin</i>	= the money (silver).
<i>10 mana kaspi</i>	= 10 mana silver.
<i>3 kililu kaspi</i>	= 3 kililu of silver.
<i>sukullu (ki-lal) 1 sunu mana kaspi</i>	= their weight in silver (1 mana).
<i>6 khazi siparri</i>	= 6 bronze wedges.
<i>4 naplagtum siparri</i>	= 4 bronze cleavers.
<i>3 parsatum siparri</i>	= 4 bronze wedges.
<i>sim 1 gis-ku</i>	= price per instrument.
<i>5 sikli kaspi</i>	= at 5 shekels of silver.
<i>1 ma-na 5 sikli kaspi</i>	= 1 mana 5 shekels silver.

$3 \times 4$ <i>inser bar-an</i>	= 12 asses.
<i>sim</i>	= the price.
1 <i>imer bar an</i>	= of each ass.
$\frac{1}{3}$ ( <i>mana</i> ) <i>kaspi</i>	= $\frac{1}{3}$ mana silver.
<i>kasap-su-nu</i>	= their money value.
4 <i>mana kaspi</i>	= 4 mana of silver.
40 <i>samui karpāt</i>	= 40 jars of oil.
<i>simu</i>	= the price.
1 <i>siklu kaspi</i>	= 1 shekel of silver.
10 <i>ka samni</i>	= per 10 <i>ka</i> of oil.
<i>kasap su</i>	= its price.
3 <i>mana kaspi</i>	= 3 mana of silver.
5 ( <i>saq us</i> ) <i>nitakh</i>	= 5 male slaves.
4 ( <i>saq sal</i> )	= 4 female slaves.
<i>simu</i> 1 <i>saq</i>	= price per head.
$\frac{1}{3}$ <i>kaspi</i>	= $\frac{1}{3}$ mana silver.
<i>kasap su-nu</i>	= their value.
3 <i>mana kaspi</i>	= 3 mana silver.
1 <i>martu</i>	= 1 female child.
<i>sim-sa</i>	= her price.
13 <i>sikli kaspi</i>	= 13 shekels silver.
( <i>su-nigin</i> ) 21 $\frac{1}{3}$ <i>mana, lal</i> 2 <i>sikli kaspi</i>	= Total: 21 $\frac{1}{3}$ mana, less 2 shekels silver ( <i>i.e.</i> 21 mana 18 shekels).
<i>Nin ki Nin gan</i>	= In addition to the price of the field.

The true nature of this inscription is best seen when it is written out in the form of a modern bill—

	Talent.	Mana.
40 talents of wool at 4 mana for a shekel .. ..	10	0
3 kililu of silver, weighing 1 mana silver (returned), 6 khazi of bronze, 4 cleavers of bronze, 3 bronze wedges, at 5 shekels of silver per tool .. ..	1	5
12 asses at $\frac{1}{3}$ mana each .. ..	4	0
40 jars of oil at 1 shekel per 10 <i>ka</i> .. ..	3	0
5 male slaves, 4 female slaves at $\frac{1}{3}$ mana (20 shekels) per head .. ..	3	0
1 female child at 13 shekels .. ..	0	13
	21	18

$$\text{Price } 21\frac{1}{3} \text{ mana} - 2 \text{ shekels} \left\{ \begin{array}{r} 21 \quad 20 \\ \quad 0 \quad 2 \\ \hline 21 \quad 18 \end{array} \right.$$

Here we have ample proof of a state of organized civilization, the product of centuries of growth and development. The corn tariff was already being replaced by a silver one, with a system of weights and measures based on sexagesimal scale. The metals were worked, the textile arts had already been developed, as shown by the use of wool, and the references in other parts of the inscriptions to robes and clothes presented by the king. Of the arts and trades in use, ample information is given in the list of workmen and officials in the inscription. Among the trades, we may mention carpenters, gardeners, shepherds, weavers, metal-workers, boatmen, barbers; and of professions, scribes, priests, judges, surveyors.

Information of still greater value for the solution of the problem of primitive environments is to be derived from the study of the pictorial signs themselves. The large number of signs used in this lengthy inscription—over two hundred in number—and others which occur in archaic inscriptions from Tello and Nippur and Sippara, form, as it were, a primitive sketch-book, placing before us with wonderful detail the home and surroundings of the inventors of the script. The inscriptions show clearly that the linear form preceded the wedge shape—this development being due to the use of plastic clay—as the medium for writing. Of other materials, the most accessible would be stone, wood, or some vegetable product. Sayce and others have suggested the use of papyrus, but of this there is no definite proof; but as the sign *gi* (No. 17), the determination of the reed class, is also used for books, letters, etc., it may have been some reed product which was used. There are also indications that wood was used, but the earliest material undoubtedly was stone, a preference being given to the



harder varieties, on which the characters could be scratched. No doubt at a very early period man would exercise his graphic powers upon rocks and boulders, as a record of his presence or as a sign of possession of certain land. From this custom, which still survives in the Wussam or tribe marks on rocks made by Arab tribes to denote routes or pasturage, or the totem graffiti of the Indians no doubt originated the Kudurri, or boundary stones, many of which are exhibited in the Babylonian room, and which, it is to be noted, are in every case boulders, and not quarried stones.

This prior use of stone would indicate that the writing was not indigenous to Chaldea, where clay was plentiful, but stone very scarce. Moreover, the ideographic signs confirm this most clearly. The same sign (No. 1) represents country and mountain. There is a sign for fir tree (No. 2), for cave (3), and the bear, while there are no signs for the palm tree or for sand. Still more important are the ideograms of location; the sign Num (No. 52), which stands for "highland," is used as the ideogram for Elam; while the Tigris is represented by a single ideogram (No. 52), the sister stream of the Euphrates being a compound group. Sea is a compound group, meaning "deep water;" stream or spring (No. 54) is a simple sign, but river a compound, all of which would show that it was not in the neighbourhood of the great rivers or on the shores of the Persian Gulf that the script was invented, or that the lowland plains were the primitive home of the race. Tradition, the last flicker of the lamp of history, throws some light on the subject. The temples of the land were called "mountain houses." Other special edifices bore the names of the "Mountain of the World," or of the "Lady of the Mountains," while it was on the

mythic mountain of the east, or rather north-east, that the gods held council like the Homeric deities on Olympus. It is this very ancient Chaldean tradition that is referred to by Isaiah (xiv. 13, 14), when he speaks of "the mountain of assembly in the uttermost parts of the north."

The details of the primitive home which we can gather from these prehistoric sketch-books are both ample and interesting. They lived in huts or houses built first of reeds (No. 4), which were divided into two portions (5), the inner room being the quarter of the women. The sides and roof were supported by beams (6), and the house had a door (7) which turned on its post, the end of which rested in a stone socket. Outside of the house were gardens (8) and fields (9), which were bounded by ditches (10) or small canals (11), while they were irrigated (12) from the river or larger canals, or watered from wells (13). Corn grew in the fields (15), and flowers in the gardens, and the principal agricultural implement was the hoe (17); the shaddoof, or "water balance," was also in use. Paths (19) divided the estates. In the river and streams fish abounded (20), and were caught with nets (21) by the use of boats (22). The art of making pottery was known, and many kinds of jars were made (23, 24), which were carried on the head (25) or placed on stands (25A). Corn was grown into flour (29), and made into cakes and bread, or mixed with oil (28). Sheep (31) were tended by sheepmasters (32), and kept in folds (33), while the wool (28) was woven into cloth (27). Both the wild (34) and domestic ox (35) were known, and the latter worked under a yoke as a draught animal. The ass (37) was the chief beast of burden. The goat also was domesticated, while the dog (36), as in all primitive civilizations, was the companion of man and the guardian of his flocks.

Towns (38) had been built, and the centre of each was the burg or citadel (39). Originally, this was a wooded stockade, as the name *gis-gal* ("great wood") indicates, and the buttresses of the Chaldean architecture are but a survival of the posts of the stockade. In the place of honour in the primitive town was the shrine of the patron god (41), originally a wooden enclosure, with an altar in the centre, afterwards replaced by a brick enclosure, such as was found in the lowest strata of Nippur. Fire for domestic or sacred use was kindled by the fire-stick (42, 43), and priests (44) offered victims (45), or poured out libations (24). At the head of the community was the king (46), called *lugal* ("great man"), and under him judges (47) and several classes of overseers, whose badge of office was a knobbed staff (48). Writing was known, and tablets were engraved with a stylus (49). We may compare this ideograph with the disposition of tablet and stylus on the statue of Gudea as the architect (chap. iv.). Metals (51) were known, silver being the first worked, and called "the white or pure metal" (50A), while copper was the next used; but gold does not appear until later, and then in the form of alluvial dust.

Such is the picture of the life and environment of the first inventors of the cuneiform writing which we are able to reconstruct from the primitive pictures which are preserved in the linear script of the archaic inscriptions of somewhat over six thousand years ago. How much further must we look back into the remote past for the dawn of that culture, which was so advanced at that distant period of time?

From these records, we may reasonably suppose that the writing was invented in the highlands of the mountains of Kurdistan and Luristan, which rise in steps leading



PICTORIAL CHARACTERS.

up to the great table-land of Iran. From their primitive home under the slopes of Mount Elvend, it was carried to the lowlands bordering on the Tigris, and watered by the Karun, Disful, and other streams—the ancient Anzan, or Susiania, a corn-producing land of almost equal richness to the Chaldean plain—and from thence transferred to Babylonia, where it underwent still further modifications.



CITADEL MOUND OF SUSIA.

We now come to the difficult question of the race who were the inventors of this mode of writing. This work, which deals solely with the life of Chaldea, is not the place for a discussion on the various phases of the Sumero-Akkadian question, which has so long divided Assyriologists into two hostile camps; but fresh evidence of an important character having been obtained by the explorations of M. de Morgan at Susa, we can now deal with the subject briefly.

The evidence of the pictorial characters seems, as I have shown, to clearly point to their invention in the regions to the east of the Tigris, and in a mountainous region where the fir and other conifers grow. The region of Susiana, the modern Khusistan, under the ranges of the mountains of Kurdistan and Luristan, has, from the remotest ages, attracted man by its fertility. Ample proof is afforded of this by the excavations made by M. de Morgan in the ancient tumulus of Susa. Here, by cutting tunnels in the mound at various heights above the plain, the explorer discovered a series of towns and settlements, reaching back to the beginning of the historic and far into the prehistoric ages.

(1) The virgin soil, a pebbly ridge formed by the rain torrents from the highlands.

(2) First settlement, 10·93 metres above the plain. Hand-made pottery, with red and brown decorations, similar to that found in the prehistoric settlements in Egypt at Ballas, Nagada, etc.

(3) Second settlement, 14·30 metres above the plain. Traces of huts having been destroyed by fire. Pottery of similar style to first settlement, but not so numerous. Large quantities of worked flints and numerous flint teeth of wooden sickles, similar to those made in Egypt.\*

(4) Third settlement, 16·80 metres above the plain. Also destroyed by fire. Here enormous heaps of the sickle teeth were found, indicating that agricultural implements had been piled in heaps, and the wooden frames decayed. Some of the flints bore traces of bitumen fastenings. Stone-made heads also found.

(5) First town, 21·25 metres above the plain. Here

\* See sickle with teeth (figure), Petrie's "Khahun and Gorub," Pl. VII.

traces of burnt walls were found ; also tanks and wells, lined with terra-cotta pipes of large size. No traces of writing.

(6) First Anzanian town, 29 to 30 metres above the plain. Traces of palaces and other edifices burned with fire and razed to the ground. Bricks inscribed with the names of Elamite rulers. This was the city destroyed by Assurbanipal in B.C. 640.

Here we have set before us in regular sequence the history of this important site. The plain of Anzan—for such was the ancient name of this region—was always celebrated for its corn-growing qualities, and indeed is so to the present day. Strabo, writing of the fertility of this region, states that wheat produced a hundred and sometimes two hundred-fold. De Candolle, the botanist, would make this region the indigenous home of wheat.\* The origin of the settlements is clearly shown in the immense number of sickles found, which indicate that the site was occupied and then left, the sickles being piled in heaps. Two of these hut settlements had been destroyed by fire—perhaps by raids from Babylonia—and then replaced by a small town. The historic records of Chaldea go back to a period of some five thousand years before our era. The first town at Susa is probably contemporary with the lowest strata at Nippur and Tello, both of which are long prior to that age. What antiquity are we to assign to the primitive settlements which precede it?

Among the objects discovered at Tello are two remarkable statuette heads in good preservation. One of these presents a distinct Mongol type. The high cheek-bones, flat face, small olive eyes, and the brachycephalic character of the head, all go to ally it with the northern

\* Migration of Plants.

Mongol type.\* The second head presents a fuller type of face, while both head and face are closely shaved. The second head I take to be a mixed Semitic and Mongol type. The prominence given to the barber (*gallabu*) in the early inscriptions indicates that shaving was a general custom. The Semites made their appearance in Babylonia at a very early period, as shown by the inscription of Maništu-su (B.C. 4500), and fortunately we possess sculptured representation of Semitic rulers at a period as early as B.C. 3800. The two monuments of Naram Sin, the statue from Mardin, now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, and the fine stele found by M. de Morgan at Susa, clearly set forth the Semitic type. We find clear, well-cut, aquiline features, and long hair and beard, the direct opposite of the Sumerian heads. We have also in the British Museum a portrait of the great king of the Arabian dynasty of Babylon (B.C. 2200), Khammurabi, which shows the same characteristics. As we have a mixture of races in Chaldea in ancient times, so also we have then, and indeed always, a variety of tongues. Chief among them is one agglutinative dialect, possessing all the mechanism of a Turanian language; the other pure Semitic, written phonetically in most cases, and having close affinities with Hebrew and Arabic.

Turning our eyes eastward, on the other side of the Tigris we find a perfect conglomeration of races, tribes, and tongues. To the Babylonians this region was known as the land of Gute, the Goim or Nations of the Hebrews; and later, as the land of the Zab-manda, or Barbarians. Elamites occupied the plain, while Kassites or Cosseans occupied the mountains, and later the Mards, or Amardians.

\* Kean's "Man, Past and Present," p. 275. "Ethnology," pp. 301, 302.



In the genealogical table of Genesis x. 10, Elam is classed as the eldest son of Shem, but this is to be attributed to the conquest of the land by the first Semite dynasty, about B.C. 3800. The early Elamite type is not known to us, but the later is accurately represented in the sculptures of Assurbanipal.\* Here we have every indication of a mixed Semitic and Mongol race. As also in the Kassite, where the Mongol element is more pronounced. If the beard of the figure of Marduk-nadin-akhi were removed, the resemblance to the Tello head would be very close. Another feature which does not appear to have been previously noticed is the very characteristic turban, or head-dress. Now, among Orientals, the last change made in costume is in the head-dress. In India, Persia, Syria, or Egypt, the native upper classes may adopt European dress, but the turban, or fez, is still retained. The Sumerian head-dress, made more ornate, as became a king, is the royal cap of the Kassite king. It appears again in the head-dress of the Elamites,\* and several modifications of it may be seen in the sculptures, and it is in use to-day among the mountain tribes of Luristan.†

The ancient Sumero-Elamite type is not lost, for it survives to this day among the Bakhtyari, among whom Layard spent many years.‡

They are a fierce body of warlike tribes, owing allegiance to no one. They are not homogeneous, embracing many blended nationalities: the base, however, being a fusion of the Mongol and Semite. According to Houssay,§ the type

\* See Assyrian Basement Slabs.

† Dieulafoy, "Acropole de Suse," pp. 97, 98, 111.

‡ Layard's "Early Travels."

§ "Acropole de Suse," p. 111.

is brachycephalic, and should be attached to the Mongol race, while that writer, as well as Layard and De Bode, agree in an admixture of Semitic, reproducing the ancient Elamite type. In the course of centuries, and before the various waves of invasion that have swept over the Susanian plain, the aboriginal races have been driven to the mountains and highlands. The same may be noticed in Syria, where I have seen, in the Taurus and Western Armenia, men whose features and figures are exactly those of the Hittites in the sculptures of Carchemish or the scenes on the walls of Karnak. Hence it is not surprising that the ancient Elamite type survives among the mountains of Luristan.

As to the question of the primitive Mongol or Turanian inhabitants of Mesopotamia being the inventors of the pictorial writing, there is much division of opinion among Assyriologists. Oppert, Sayce, Lenormant, Hommel, Haupt, Pinches, all agree with Rawlinson, George Smith, and myself in regarding it as certain. On the other hand, Pognon, Guyard, Dangin, Hilprecht, Jastrow, and others follow Halevy in regarding the origin as Semitic, the system being a "species of cryptography," the deliberate invention of the priests in their desire to produce a method of conveying their ideas that would be regarded as a mystery.\* This theory might be tenable, to some extent, if this so-called cryptographic writing were confined to religious or magical texts; but when we have historical texts, royal hymns engraved on statues such as that of Khammurabi, in the British Museum,† as well as commercial and legal documents written in it from B.C. 2000-3000, there is no demand for the element of mystery. It is also argued

\* Jastrow, "Religion of Babylonians," p. 23.

† King's "Inscriptions of Khammurabi," p. 40.

by Jastrow and others\* that the cuneiform syllabary is Semitic. This is perhaps true in the modification of Sumerian words for their use as phonetics. The whole mechanism of the primitive picture and ideographic writings is totally contrary to any known example of Semitic invention. The alphabet most associated with these people is that of Phoenicia, which is certainly a system borrowed or adapted from that of some other nation, possibly the Egyptian; but, in the light of more recent discoveries, probably either from the Ægean islanders or Cretans, or perhaps from the Minean traders. The rash statement of Jastrow, that both the religion and culture of Babylonia is the product of the Semitic mind, is a complete error. The family organization, the position of woman, the civic administration, the magic and demonology, with the creed of animism which underlies the religion, the elaborate numerical system derived from a most primitive basis, are all opposed to what we know of the Semitic nations.

It will be more correct, in the face of the evidence I have quoted, to ascribe the beginnings of Chaldean and the associated civilizations to the slow, plodding, and inventive Mongolian, while their modification, adaptation, and propagation throughout Western Asia may be ascribed to the Semites.

The Sumerians, who in many ways resembled the Chinese, never were an aggressive people, the only wars recorded in the most ancient inscriptions being those among the small civic kingdoms, or against the neighbouring state of Anzan. But with the advent of the Semites a great expansion took place. In the time of Sargon and Naram Sin we have expeditions against Syria, Sinai, and

\* Jastrow, "Religion of Babylonians," p. 24.

even—as there is every reason to suppose—an expedition to the island of Cyprus, while to the east Babylonian armies penetrated into the mountains of Kurdistan and Luristan, and conquered Elam. Still more important than the warlike expeditions was the trade and commercial relations opened up with the surrounding nations. With the rise of the dynasty of Agade we find trade with the whole of Western Asia commencing, and it continues to increase in the hands of the Semites until, by the time of the Arabian dynasty and the age of Khammurabi, the commercial law of Babylon was that of the whole Oriental world. Those traders spread the culture and civilization of Babylon, and the cuneiform writing also, until, by the fifteenth century before our era, the cuneiform writing had become the script of trade and diplomacy for all Western Asia and even parts of Asia Minor, as shown by the cuneiform tablets found at Tarsus and at Pterium, or Boghaz Keui, or the Halys. In time this gave place to the Phœnician and Asia Minor scripts, but the cuneiform writing continued in use to within a very few years of the Christian era. The recently published commentaries on the creation tablets\* and the magical † and astrological inscriptions in the British Museum show that cuneiform writing was used and understood as late as B.C. 84, while the university at Borsippa with the Jewish college there flourished until many years later. This preservation and expansion of Babylonian learning was entirely the work of the Semites; but the majority of the works were founded on Sumerian originals. Whatever doubt there was of a Sumerian literature is now set at rest by the valuable series of purely Sumerian hymns recently purchased by

\* King's "Seven Tablets of Creation."

† Thompson, "Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia."

the British Museum.\* Until far more conclusive evidence is forthcoming to the contrary, we must still regard the ground-work of Babylonian civilization as of non-Semitic origin.

#### THE LEGENDS OF CIVILIZATION.

In addition to the evidence of the monuments, we must not neglect the valuable traditions of the beginnings of civilization which have come down to us. Of these, two especially are of special interest when compared with monumental evidence. The first is in the fragments of Chaldean origin which have been preserved by the Greek writers from the lost history compiled by the Græco-Chaldean writer, Berosus; the second source is the valuable legend of civilization preserved in the Hebrew writing (Gen. iv. and part of x.). Both these traditions are but echoes of the older Chaldean inscriptions preserved on the tablets, but they are of interest as showing how rich a folk legend grew up on the subject. The traditions both place the dawn of civilization in that mythic age of gods and heroes prior to the deluge. The deluge forms a dividing-line between the mythic age and the beginnings of history, and to both Chaldean and Hebrew writers it was a real event: for in a list of royal names in the British Museum we record, "These are the kings after the deluge (*abubi*), who according to their relative order wrote not." And again, in another hymn to the

\* The Sumerian Hymns to Mullid, Nerunugal (Nergal), Mer (Adad), Enzu (Sin), Dunuzi (Tammuz), and other gods, published in "Select Inscriptions," Pt. XV., prove most conclusively that Sumerian was a language, not a system of cryptograms, for many of the words are spelt out phonetically and vowel harmonics introduced.

holy river, we read,\* "The deluge they (the gods) sent not before thou wert." The references to antediluvian times in the Hebrew writings are very few and obscure,† but the record of the development of civilization is a valuable and a remarkable document.

The account of Berosus is as follows :—

"A great multitude of men of various tribes inhabited Chaldea, but they lived without any order, like the animals. Then there appeared to them from the sea, on the shore of Babylonia, a fearful animal of the name of Oan. Its body was that of a fish, but under the fish's head another head was attached, and on the fins were feet like those of a man, and it had a man's voice. Its image is still preserved. The animal came at morning and passed the day with men ; but it took no nourishment, and at sunset went again into the sea, and remained there for the night. This animal taught men language and science, the harvesting of seeds and fruits, the rules for the boundaries of land, the mode of building cities and temples, arts and writing, and all that relates to the civilization of human life."‡

The graphic description which the ancient Chaldean historian gives of this strange creature enables us to identify it clearly with the fish-headed god Ea, so often figured in the sculptures, and on gems and seals.

Ea, whose sacred city was Eridu, the Eri-dugga of the Sumerians, was the oldest god in the Babylonian pantheon. The name of Eri-dugga (𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪) means "the holy or sacred city," and the name was borrowed by the Semites as Eridu. The ruins are marked by the mounds of

\* King, "Seven Tablets of Creation," p. 129.

† Only an Old Testament reference, and this in the Deutero-Isaiah, can be noted in Isaiah liv. 9, "the waters of Noah."

‡ Berosus, "Fragments," 1st ed. (Müller).

Abu-Shārain, about seven hours south-west of Mughier, the ancient Ur of the Chaldees. In remote times the waters of the Persian Gulf reached the walls, boats started from



FIGURE OF FISH-HEADED  
GOD.

its quays. The city is described as being situated in the holy region of "the mouths of the rivers" (*ina pi nari*), and the tradition is preserved in the modern name of the city, which means "the father of the two mouths." The name of Ea, the patron god, is probably the origin of the Oan or Oannes of Berosus, though the exact reading of the characters (𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗. E-a) is not quite certain; but as the name means "god of the house of water," and as Ea's most important title was "lord of the deep," the identification seems almost certain.

The various elements of civilization which the mysterious fish-man taught the ancient inhabitants of Babylonia are all clearly represented in the epithets and titles applied to him; or in the various divine children he was father of, or the emanations from himself.

He is called "king of the deep," "the wise god," "he who knows all things," "the lord of deep knowledge," "the divine lord of laws;" and in the tablet of warnings to kings against injustice "the laws of Ea" are mentioned. We know both from the Sumerian and Semitic creation legends that he was a god of agriculture, "the bestower of

planting, founder of sowing, the creator of grains and vegetables, who causeth the green herb to spring up." Although he is nowhere called the god of writing and letters, it was his son Nebo, "the scribe god," who was "the god of tablet writing and the lord of the stylus, the patron of the scribe cast." Ea also appears as the god of the arts. In the inscription of Nabu-apal-iddina (B.C. 880), in the British Museum, we find Ea as the craftsman god, assisted by four other minor divinities. These are Nin-igi-nagar-gid, "the superintendent of the measures;" Gushkinbanda, "the brilliant chief," as lord of the metal-workers; Nin Kurra, "lord of the mountain," as chief of the stone-hewers; and Nin Zadmin, "lord of the sculptor." So it will be seen that almost every one of the elements of civilization attributed to Oannes finds its counterpart in the titles of Ea or his associates. The fish form assigned to this god is to be traced to the once maritime position of Eridu. Adapa, the fisherman, whose legend is found on the Tel-çl-Amarna tablets, was a fisherman, and his adventures form a pretty mythic story. Adapa was the son of Ea, and therefore but a reflection of his father. He is, moreover, called in one of the magical texts, Adapa, the ruler of Eridu.\* The legend states that Adapa was fishing in the sea for his master Ea, when the south-west wind, the hot fever-laden wind from Arabia, swept him into the sea. The words of Adapa are given—

"Anu said to him, 'Adapa, why hast thou broken the wings of the south wind?'

"Adapa answered and said to Anu, 'My lord! For the house of my lord I was fishing in the midst of the sea. The waters lay still around me, when the south

\* Thompson, "Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia," vol. i. p. 13.



wind began to blow, and forced me underneath. Into the dwelling of the fish it drove me. In the anger of my heart I broke the wings of the south wind."\*

The south-west wind is represented as a bird, or as a demon with wings and a head like a sun-perished skull.† For his offence of breaking the wings of the wind, and preventing it from blowing for seven days, Adapa is summoned to heaven to the presence of Anu, to explain his conduct. Adapa, who is semi-mortal, being son or man of Ea, is told by his divine protector that if he goes to heaven he will be offered certain things which will render him like unto the gods† and unable to return to earth.

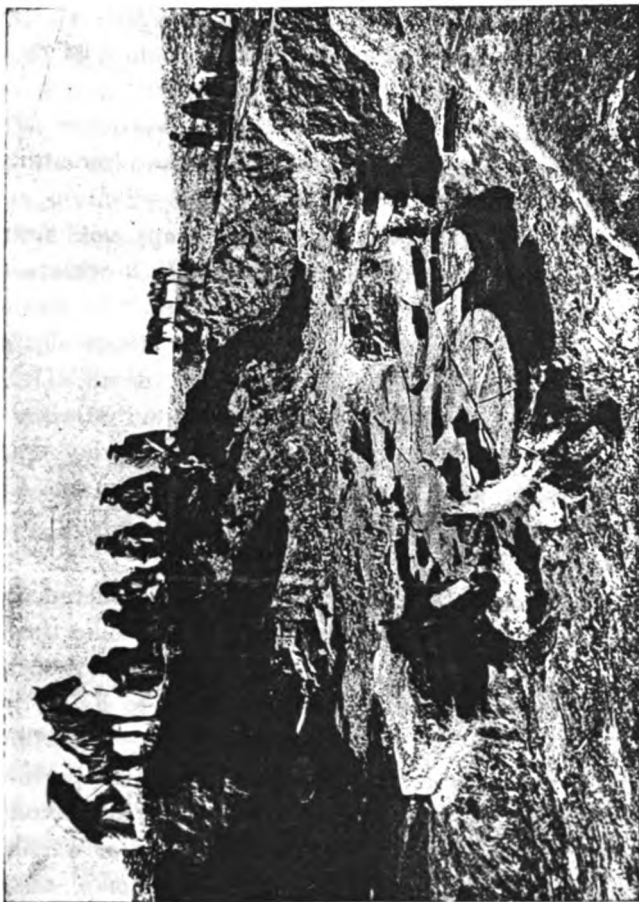
Ea said to Adapa, "When thou comest before Anu, they will offer thee the food of death (*muti*): do not eat it! They will offer the waters of death: do not drink. They will offer thee a garment: put it on! They will offer thee oil: anoint thyself! The order that I give thee, do not neglect. The word that I speak to thee, take to heart."

On his arrival in heaven he is met by two gods, who guard the gate of heaven—Tammuz and Giz-zida. The mention of these two gods as the guardians of heaven is important. Tammuz (→| 𐎠𐎵 -||𐎶), the son of life, was the god of fresh, verdant nature, and a tree-god, as the Lydian myth of Atys, borrowed from Babylonia, shows. Giz-zida (-| 𐎠| -||𐎶 𐎶||), the firm tree, or tree of life, and was especially the god who presided over the growth of trees. So these two tree-gods are the guardians of

\* Text in Winckler Thon-Tafelfund von El Amarna iii., 166a. Translations by Jastrow, "Babylonian and Assyrian Religion," pp. 554, 555; and King's "Assyrian for Beginners," in parts, pp. 123, etc.

† Perrot and Chipiez, "Chaldean and Assyrian Art," vol. ii. p. 81.

the gate of heaven. But those two gods were especially connected with Eridu, and were no doubt represented by the two brick pillars which stood before the gate of the



BLOCK OF PILLARS.

city, the bases of which Mr. Taylor found during his casual explorations of Abu Sharien.\* These resemble the

\* *Journ. R.A.S.*, xv. pl. ii.

pillars found by De Sarzec before the shrine in the temple of Nin Sugir at Sirpurra.

On his departure from earth to heaven, Ea had told his servant to wear a mourning dress, and so, when he arrives at the gates of heaven, the two guardian gods say to him, "Why art thou thus attired? For whom hast thou put on mourning?"

To this question he replies, "Two gods have disappeared from earth, therefore do I wear a mourning garment."

"Who art the two gods who have disappeared from earth?" Tammuz and Giz-zida looked at each other and broke into lamentation.

This reference to the disappearance or death of the two gods of Eridu refers, of course, to the death of the two tree-gods of the spring under the storms of winter, then they disappear to return with the spring and summer, for the fourth and fifth months, Duzu and Ab (June to August), are dedicated to Tammuz and Nin Giz-zida.

On the arrival of Adapa in heaven, he is offered the food and drink of *life* by Anu, but refuses to take them, and so does not become immortal. It is important to notice that that which was the food of death to Ea is the food of life to Anu. Jastrow makes the very important suggestion that "the desire of the creator Ea to prevent his creature (Adapa) from gaining immortal life and becoming like unto the gods, is very much the same as we find in Genesis iii., when Yaveh, who creates man, takes precaution lest man eat of the tree of life, and "live for ever." In this he is probably correct.

The legend of Adapa confirms the Oannes tradition by making Ea the patron of fishermen, and also shows Eridu

to have been the centre of a tree-worshipping cultus, which is interesting when we study the Hebrew legend of civilization.

One valuable confirmation of this idea is found in the line "Within it are Šamaš and Tammuz, but the god Giz-zida\* was another form of Šamaš, and we have seen that these were the local tree-gods of Eridu. The sacred grove was common to almost all the religions of the old world, and the existence of such a grove in the mythology of Eridu is quite to be expected. The grove was situated in the holy land—the land of immortality of the Babylonians, the mystic region at the mouth of "the rivers" (*ina pi nari*). Of the sanctity of this region we have ample proof in the Deluge tablet (Col. V.), where Šamaš-napišti (and his wife), the Chaldean Noah, are translated, where we read—

"Hitherto Šamaš-napišti has been mortal,  
 But now Šamaš-napišti and his wife  
 Shall be gods like unto us.†  
 Šamaš-napišti shall dwell in a far-distant  
 place at the mouth of the rivers.  
 They took me and placed me in a far-distant  
 place at the mouth of the rivers."

The Hebrew legend of civilization, which we find in Genesis, iii., iv., is essentially the work of the Yahavist writer. He is, as Renan remarked, a decided pessimist. He alone it is who records the story of the Fall, the expulsion from Eden, the fratricide by Cain, and who treats the attempts of man to adapt himself to the changed circumstances as an exercise of free-will not pleasing to Yaveh. It is, moreover, to be noticed that

\* Jastrow, "Religion," p. 51.

† Compare the words in Gen. iii. 22, addressed to Adam and Eve.

the whole of the genealogy belongs to the descendants of Cain.

The whole tradition of the Garden of Eden, with its trees of life and knowledge, is based on the Babylonian tree worship, especially associated with Eridu. The Yaveh of Hebrew tradition is an agricultural god, who plants his garden in Eden. The name Eden is the Sumerian Edina (𒂗𒂊𒂗), the equivalent of the Semitic Zeru, "open land," plain, desert, and especially applied to the lowlands of South Chaldea. The garden is planted by him (Gen. ii. 8), and man is appointed to till it exactly as a Babylonian landlord might appoint his gardener (Code, sec. 60-65), giving him his share for sustenance. "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest eat freely" (Gen. ii. 16). It must be remembered that the profession of gardener was a very noble one in Babylonia. Sargon of Agade (B.C. 3800), according to a legend, was brought up as a gardener. Babylonian kings claimed the title of "gardener of the sacred tree," and Nebuchadnezzar the Great calls himself the "gardener of Babylon."

There is an important inscription in the British Museum, which has often been quoted, which relates to the sacred grove of Eridu and the sacred tree which grew there. This text, with considerable additions, has just been published by Mr. Campbell Thompson, in his work on "Babylonian Devils and Evil Spirits," and with some valuable comments—

" In Eridu groweth the dark kiskanu,  
That groweth up in a holy place.  
Its summit was bright lapis ;  
It stretcheth into the ocean (abyss)  
From Ea, its path was in Eridu  
Bountiful in luxuriance.  
Its site is the place of the Earth

It is the place of the couch of the goddess JD.  
 In a holy abode like a forest grove.  
 Its shade spreadeth, and none may enter it,  
 Within it are Šamaš and Tammuz.  
 At the mouth of two rivers  
 The gods Ka-khegal, Si-dugal . . . of Eridu  
 Have gathered this *kiskannu* (tree).  
 They have recited the Incantation of the Deep.  
 At the head of the wanderer (delirious one) they have set it,  
 That a propitious Guardian and a favourable Spirit  
 May stand at the side of the man the son of his god."

This text needs little examination to show its importance. Mr. Thompson, in his work, has tried to show that the old idea of Professor Sayce, Dr. Pinchas, and others, that saw in this a record of the Garden of Eden, is wrong. In this he has been successful to a certain extent, but at the same time the inscription has a distinct bearing on the Eden tradition. What we have here is not a description of a sacred garden, but of the sacred grove of Eridu—the seat of the worship of the tree-gods Giz-zida and Tammuz. In the text the tree is called by the Sumerian *Gis-kin* (𒄠 𒆸), and the Semitic *Kiś ka-mu-u* is but a modified form of the word. Now, *Gis-kin* means a "tree trunk," and this sacred trunk may be represented symbolically by the brick pillars set up before or in the temple of Ea.

As I have already said, the tradition of the connection between Eridu and the river mouths is preserved in the modern name Abû-Sharain, "father of two mouths." It must be remembered that when this poem was written there were four rivers that flowed into the sea by separate mouths, namely, the Tigris, the Euphrates, Karun, Kerkha. So that to a people who believed in the holiness of river mouths this would be a specially sacred region.

There is no reason to regard this as a description of the Garden of Eden, which is purely legendary, but that

this tradition supplied the writer of Genesis with the basis of his description of the garden planted by Yaveh in Eden is very probable.

Although not directly mentioned in this inscription, there appears to have been a river associated with this sacred garden or grove, and this is probably represented by "the channel of the house of the deep restored by Khammurabi." This was the mythic river of creation, an interesting fragment relating to which has recently been published by Mr. King,\* which reads—

"O thou river, thou didst create all things.  
 When the great gods dug thee out,  
 On thy banks they placed prosperity.  
 Within thee Ea, King of the Ocean, created his dwelling.  
 The Deluge they sent not before thou wert.  
 Fire and wrath, splendour and terror, have Ea and Asar  
 (Marduk), the good being, presented to thee.  
 Thou judgest the cause of mankind,  
 O river, thou art mighty ; O river, thou art supreme ; O  
 river, thou art righteous."

This is evidently the divine or holy river by which the "ordeal of water" was performed, and it was afterwards identified with the Euphrates. It is upon material such as these, and we must remember that Ur, the birth-place of Abram, was only a few miles away from the sacred city of Eridu, that the Hebrew writer founded his story of Eden and the river of life and the sacred trees.

The story of the Fall has not yet been found on the tablets, but it is one which we may yet hope to find.†

After the Fall and the expulsion from Eden, the Hebrew legend of civilization begins. Yaveh is no longer

\* King, "Seven Tablets of Creation," p. 129.

† The tablet which I thought related to the Fall, and which I published in "Bible and the Monuments," is now found to be part of the Creation series.

the patron of agriculture, extending his divine favour to his sacred garden, from which man is driven forth. Man must now extract his sustenance from an unwilling Earth, upon which the curse of God rests. The words used by the Hebrew writer are remarkable: "Cursed be the ground for thy sake ; by toil shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life ; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee ; and thou shalt eat of the herb of the field ; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" (Gen. iii. 17, 18).

This curse finds an almost exact parallel in a tablet of Ea cycles. It relates to a certain Atarpi,\* who had offended the god Ea in some way, and for whose sake a curse is put upon the earth. We read—

" He turned to mankind.  
 From their stomachs he minished vegetables.  
 On high Adar (Rain-god) drank up his rains.  
 The field was barren, and there was no water in the fountains.  
 Destroyed was the wealth of the Harvest-god, devastated the fields.  
 The open land (Edina) was rebellious and produced blackness ;  
 Vegetables sprung not up, no corn grew,  
 Upon all men was fever and (pestilence?)"

This text, short as it is, contains all the essential features of the curse in Genesis iii. 17, 18. Such terrible visitations of drought and famine often occurred in Babylonia, and would be assigned to divine anger. Thus man goes forth to battle against nature, to struggle for existence, and to adapt himself to his environment ; and with this the Hebrew legend of civilization begins. We shall see, as we have already in the Eden tradition, how largely the writer has drawn on Babylonia for his material.

Man now has to face the struggle for existence, and in

\* Read by Jensen Atar-Khasis ("Schrade Heilinschrift," Bib., Band. vi., Helft. 1, pp. 275-289).



the form of a genealogy the author traces the gradual development of civilization. To Adam are born two children—Cain and Abel. Abel was a keeper of sheep, and Cain a tiller of the ground (Gen. iv. 3). Here, then, we have two important characters: for in Cain we have the eponymous hero of the settler, or agriculturalist; and in Abel, that of the nomads or shepherds. It is almost the earliest division of the human race; and the rivalry between the two exists in all time. The quarrel between the two brothers is found in many forms in Hebrew, Arabic, and Babylonian literature. It repeats itself in the quarrel between Esau, the hunter, and Jacob with mess of pottage, the cultivator of the soil (Gen. xxv. 27, 34).

It is the feud which exists to this day between the Bedouin shepherds and the fellaheen, between the wandering nomad and the townsman.

This love of nomad life marks the character of the Yaveh of the early Hebrew writings. He is essentially a desert-god, living in the rocky solitudes of Sinai or Horeb; his most devoted ministers are schooled in the solitude of the desert, where he alone is to be found. Moses encounters him in the burning bush on the slopes of Horeb (Exod. iii. 1-12). Elijah, in the solitude of the same desert, has his vision in the cave. Elijah is the most typical representative of this nomad spirit of the early Hebrew writings. This strange figure coming from the wilds, with the scent of the desert in his hair and his beard, clad with a camel's-hair garment and girt with a leather girdle, is a living embodiment of the nomad, and a stern protest against civilization as represented by the rich-robed and painted Phœnician Jezebel (1 Kings xxi. 17-29). This same spirit, again, is definitely associated with Yaveh in the rebuke of Nathan to David, when he proposed to build

the temple (2 Sam. vii. 5). The words of the prophet are very remarkable. "Thus saith Yaveh, Shalt thou build me an house for me to dwell in? for I have not dwelt in an house since the day that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even unto this day, but have walked in a tent and in a tabernacle. In all places wherein I have walked with all the children of Israel spake I a word with any of the tribes of Israel, saying, Why have ye not built me a house of cedar?" Here we see the nomadic character of Yaveh most clearly stated, and his opposition to the influence of Phœnicia in causing the Hebrew king to build palaces and a temple in Jerusalem.

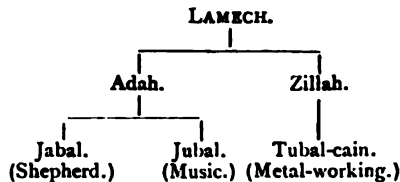
But the feud represented in the rivalry between Cain and Abel, and the protest of the nomadism of Yaveh, could have but one ending—the shepherd must succumb to the settler; and so it is Cain, the agriculturalist, who defeats the shepherd Abel; and it is in the line of the settler that the progress of civilization is continued.

The episode of the banishment of Cain recorded in Genesis iv. is quite in accordance with the Babylonian custom of the expulsion of one who had violated the family tie; while setting a mark upon Cain would seem to be associated with the custom of branding. Cain flees to the land of Nod, eastward from Eden (Gen. iv. 16). This passage now becomes clear in the light which the monuments throw upon the beginnings of Babylonian civilization. The word Nod is the *Nadu* of the inscriptions—that is, the "land of the wanderers," the *manda*, or "barbarians," the very region where we have seen the Babylonian civilization grow up.

The next step on the path of civilization is the building of the first city. "And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived, and bare Enoch: and builded a city, and called the

name of that city, after the name of his son, Enoch" (Gen. iv. 17, 18). This name Enoch, or Khenoch (חֵנוֹךְ), has no satisfactory Hebrew etymology, but fortunately the records of Babylonia afford one. The guttural n here represents the Sumerian *u*, and so Enoch, or Khenoch, is the exact equivalent of the old Sumerian  $\text{𒌦𒍪}$ . (*Unuĝ unuk*), which passed into Semitic Babylonian as *Urūk* (Erech), the word for city, and especially for the ancient capital of Nimrod. Erech, the city *par excellence*. This word appears as a component element in many names, such as *Ur unug* (𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪  $\text{𒌦𒍪}$   $\text{𒌦𒍪}$ ), moon-dwelling or city; *Ur*, the home of Abram, or  $\text{𒌦𒍪}$   $\text{𒌦𒍪}$ ; *Ud unug* (sun and city); *Larsa*, the southern Heliopolis. It will be seen, then, that the Hebrew writer uses the typical Sumerian word for "city," as the name of this first of cities. In the same way *Irak* (אֲרָם) is Eridu, the *Eri dugga*, or Eridu, of the inscriptions, the holy city of the Sumerians.

We come now to a very important group of characters associated with the invention of the arts of utility and pleasure.



We have already seen how the Babylonian legend of the development of the fine arts was associated with Ea, who was "lord of the metal workers, sculptors," etc. Here we seem to have a tradition which originated in the school of Ur, the centre of moon-worship. Lamech (חֵנוֹךְ) is evidently the Sumerian Lamga, on which we have a most interesting gloss in one of the lexicographical tablets

(WAI. II.) 𒌦 (𒌦𒍪𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦) 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 (𒌦𒍪𒍪), with the additional gloss 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒍪𒍪𒌦𒍪 = 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪. Lamga = Sin, the moon-god. But Lamga is again explained as equivalent to Na-ga-ar (Nagar, "the artisan"), a word of Sumerian origin, so that as Ea was the artisan, god of Eridu, so Sin held the same position in Ur. The two wives of Lamech are certainly lunar names—Adah, "the brightness," and Zillah, "the shade." Of the connection between moon-worship and pastoral life we have many proofs from the inscriptions.

In a very beautiful hymn to Nannar, the moon-god of Ur, the pastoral Semitic is clearly maintained. The moon is called "the mighty bull (*buru ikdu*), great of horns, perfect of form, with long flowing beard, bright as crystal." The moon-god is often represented on the seals—an old man with a long flowing beard. The hymn proceeds—

"In heaven, who is exalted? Thou alone art exalted.  
 On earth, who is exalted? Thou alone art exalted.  
 Thy word is declared in heaven, and the spirits prostrate themselves.  
 Thy word is declared on earth, and the spirits of earth kiss the ground.  
 Thy word streams out on high like a storm-wind spreads abroad,  
 and fertility is poured out.\*  
 Thy word is established on earth, and vegetation sprouts forth.  
 Thy word spreads over stall and sheepfold, and life is increased."

The two personages born of Lamech and Adah are evidently eponymous heroes of the shepherd class—the one typical of the pastoral life, the other the patron of music, which has always been associated in ancient culture systems with the shepherd. Two small fragments of old-folk poems, which have been incorporated into the

\* A reference to the cool rain and night dews.

Babylonian epic, may be quoted here as repeating again the rivalry between the shepherd and the agriculturalist. Gilgames is rebuking the goddess Istar for her cruel treatment of her lovers. After a reference to the death of Tammuz, the poem says \*—

"Thou didst love a shepherd of the flock,  
Who continually poured out for thee libations ;  
On each day he slaughtered kids for thee,  
But thou didst smite him and turn him into a leopard ;  
So that his own sheep-boy hunted him,  
And his hounds tore him to pieces.†

\* \* \* \* \*  
Thou didst love Isullanu, a gardener of thy father,  
Who continually brought thee sweet dishes,  
And each day adorned thy table for thee.  
Thou didst cast thy eye upon him, and turn his mind, saying,  
'O my gardener youth, let us enjoy thy strength,  
Put forth thy hand and take mine.'  
But the gardener spake unto thee, saying,  
'What is this thou askest of me ?

*(some lines obscure.)*

When thou didst hear those words thou didst smite him and turn  
him into a dwarf."

These two fragments belong to the very oldest age of Babylonian literature, and were no doubt popular folk-legends, like the Song of Mama and other archaic poems, recently published by Mr. L. W. King.‡ In Babylonian mythology no god has as yet been identified as the special patron of music, but we know that music formed an important part of the temple service, and figured very prominently in the cult of Tammuz, "the youthful spring sun-god." Among the sculptures found in Babylonia are two of special value as illustrating the Hebrew tradition of the invention of musical instruments. In the lower

\* Sixth book or tablet of the epic.

† Here we have, perhaps, the original of the Greek fable of Acteon.

‡ "Select Inscriptions," Part XVI. Plates 1-9.

strata at Nippur there was discovered a terra-cotta plaque, on which a pastoral scene is represented—a shepherd playing a lute, while his dog is looking up, and no doubt accompanying his master with the usual canine howls. Beside the shepherd is a sheep. This is certainly the earliest representation of pastoral music.\* The second



SHEPHERD AND DOGS.

sculpture, which belongs to a later age, but which is unfortunately unaccompanied by any inscription, was found at Tel-lo, the ancient Sirpurra, and represents a Babylonian orchestra.

Here we have a clear illustration of the Hebrew story of Jubal's invention of music. "Jubal was the father (originator) of all such as handle the harp and pipe" (Gen. iv. 21). In the upper tier we have men with cymbals and pipes, while others appear to be singers, who clap their hands in unison, as so often represented

\* Hilprecht, "Explorations in Bible Lands," p. 529.

in the Egyptian sculptures. The harp in the lower tier is of very primitive construction, and yet exhibits some



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, *circa* B.C. 3000.

attempt at adornment. The front pillar appears to have rested on the back of two bulls, while, as in the early Egyptian harps, the strings, of which there are ten, are far back. The harpist uses his hand, and not a plectrum, as do the Assyrian harpers.

We now come to the most important development of civilization—the working of the metals. As I have already said, there was no age in Babylonia when two metals, silver and copper, were not worked. Long prior to the

age of Sargon of Agade (B.C. 3800) the arts of casting and working both of these metals were known, and,

from the artistic finish of such objects as the silver vase of Entemena, or the bronze lance from Sirpurra, had been long practised. The Hebrew tradition attributes the invention to Tubal-cain (תובל-קין), or Tubal "the smith." Here the Hebrew writer, or possibly some later



FIGURES OF THE FIRE-GOD.

editor, confused by the forms of Jubal and Jabal, has, I should say, written Jubal for Gibil, the name of the Babylonian fire-god, who bears the title of "the smith and lord of the metal-workers."

In all ancient religious systems the fire-god holds an important position. Fire was so essential to man in his



daily life, and so associated with his material and spiritual welfare, that it was naturally regarded as divine and heaven-born. Fire, as heaven-born, was represented by the lightning; and so we find the heaven-fire as the messenger of Anu. The lightning was called "the sword of heaven; the sting of heaven."

The earth-fire was produced by the fire-stick, the Aryan Pramantha, the Greek Promethenos. The use of the fire-stick in Babylonia is clearly indicated by the ideograms used for fire—→| ε|†. ("cross wood"), or ≡Δε|, which is explained as "kindling wood," "revolving wood;" and the ideograph in its archaic form (No. 42 in table) represents the lower fire-stick with the kindling wood beside it. The name Gibil, which in the Hebrew tradition is corrupted into Jubal, is represented by →| ≡Δε| -||Δ. ("god of the fire-reed"). Fortunately we possess some valuable statues of the fire-god, which most conclusively prove the use of the fire-stick.

The position of the fire-god as the patron of metal-working is well illustrated by a hymn to this god in the British Museum—

"The fire-god, the prince, who is mighty in the land;  
 The warrior, the son of the deep, who is mighty in the land.  
 O fire-god, by thy holy flame thou makest light in the darkened house.  
 Thou determinest the destiny of all living things;  
 Of copper and lead thou art the purifier,  
 Of silver and gold thou art the benefactor."

The worship of the fire-god in Babylonia presents considerable resemblance to that of Agni in the Vedic hymns. He is lord of the sacrifice; as by his sacred flame he purifies all things. As the bright, darting lightning, he is the messenger of the gods; above all, he is the champion of light, and the all-powerful enemy of darkness, and of

the black gods and their priesthood of witches and sorcerers. In the valuable series of tablets on witchcraft recently published by Dr. Talqvist, the fire-god is the most powerful agent in overcoming the spells of witch and wizard. And I may quote one very fine example—

“O fire-god, great god, counsellor of the great gods,  
Guarding the sacrificial gifts of all the spirits of heaven ;  
Founder of cities, renewer of sanctuaries ; \*  
Glorious light, whose command is supreme ;  
Messenger of Anu, carrying out the decrees of Bel ;  
Obedient to Bel, counsellor, exalted among the spirits of earth ;  
Mighty in battle, whose attack is powerful ;  
Without thee no sacrificial feast is spread in the temple.”

Such is the result of the comparison of the Hebrew legend of civilization with the ancient records of Babylonia ; and to any candid critic it must appear impossible to not admit the indebtedness of the writer to Babylonian records. The names, many of them Sumerian, are those of Babylonian towns or divinities. There are passages, such as the curse of Yaveh upon the earth and other fragments, which seem almost quotations from Babylonian records ; and the Babylonian tone is quite beyond dispute. The mention of iron, which was probably not known except in the form of meteoric iron until certainly B.C. 1500, indicates its late origin, but whatever conclusion may be arrived at, the whole account is so tinged with the mythic elements as to be wholly incompatible with a Mosaic origin.

\* A reference to the sacred hearth and ever-burning fire of the temple.

### CHAPTER III

## EGYPT AND CHALDEA

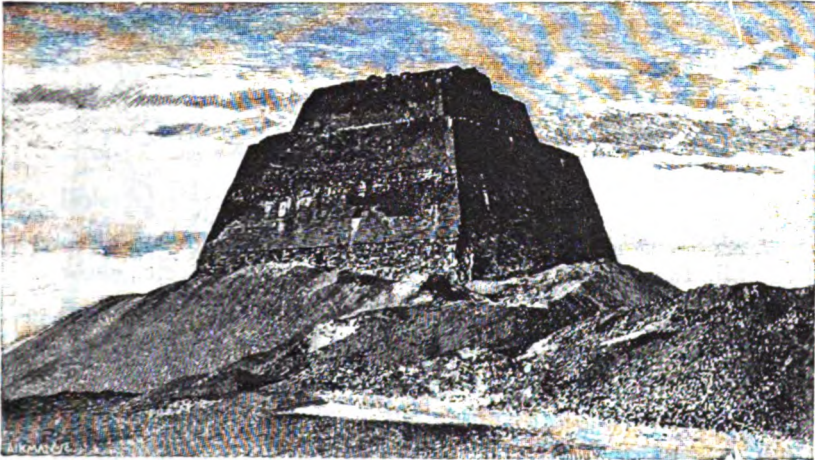
**T**HE very early connection, which is now proved by monumental evidence, between the old Sumerian kingdoms and the stone and copper producing peninsula of Sinai, naturally raises the question of a possible connection between the former and the earlier dynastic Egyptians.

The astonishing discoveries made by M. de Morgan, Professor Petrie, M. Amelineau, and others, in the Nile valley during recent years, have thrown an entirely new light upon the beginning of Egyptian civilization. But a few years ago the starting-point of Egyptian history was marked by the pyramid of Medum, the burial-place of Senefru, the first king of the Fourth Egyptian Dynasty (B.C. 3700). Now, not only are the names and the memorials of the principal Pharaohs of the three preceding dynasties restored to us, but the archæologist has carried his campaign far back into the dim, dreary veldt of the prehistoric age, and the story of Nile-land has undergone a retrospective enlargement beyond all former expectations.

Where the history recorded in picture hieroglyphs ends, there begins the silent story gathered from the lone cemeteries on the fringe of the Lybian hills, where many thousand years ago the aborigines of the Nile valley laid

their dead to rest in shallow graves, veritable last resting-places.

The fine example of these prehistoric burials in the first mummy-room of the British Museum, accompanied by no writing, yet tells a strangely interesting story. The crouching figure, with its drawn-up knees and arms, in the attitude of sleep, shows that there was even then in the minds of these first Egyptians a belief in an awakening ;



PYRAMID OF MEDUM.

the pots and cups, once filled with food, the flint weapons, the slate talismanic figures, found in the graves at Ballas, Nagada, and other prehistoric cemeteries, indicate a belief in a "larger hope," if not in a resurrection, at least in a great hereafter, of which life was but the antechamber.

The prehistoric civilization of Egypt is better illustrated by specimens of pottery, weapons, artistic ornaments, than that of almost any other race.

Thousands of graves have been opened, and their

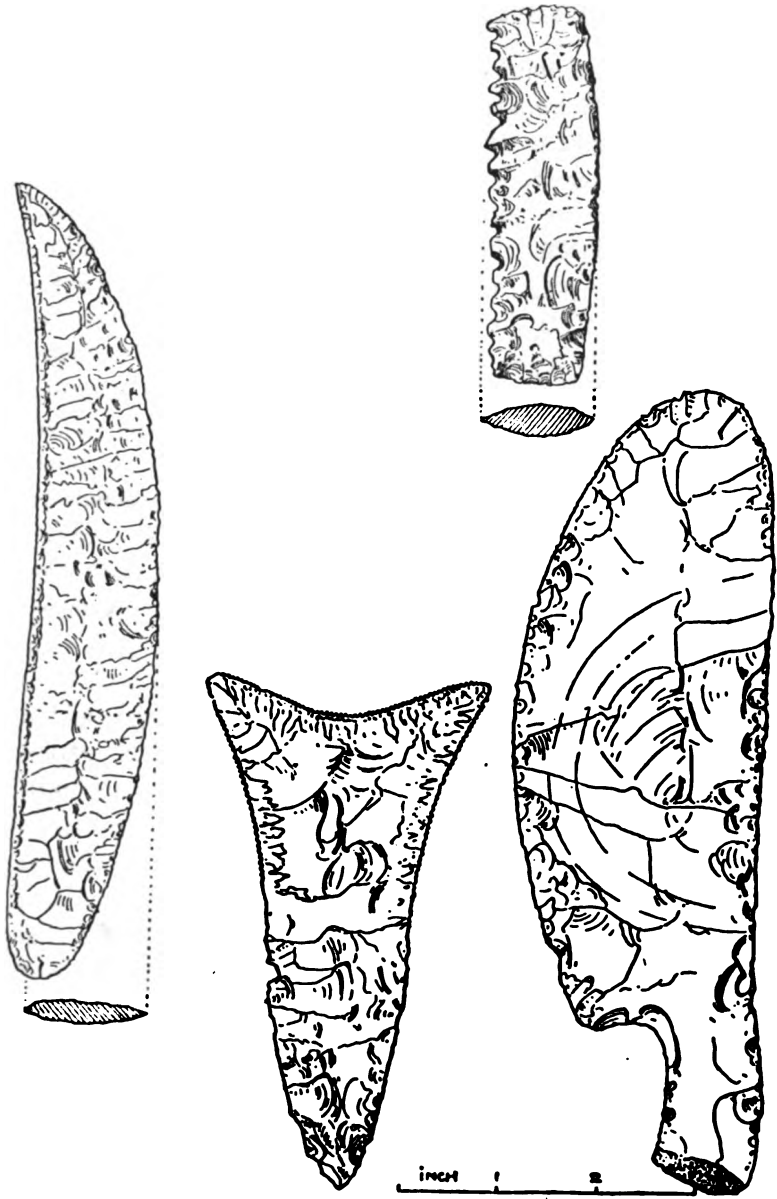
treasures collected for our enlightenment. This is not the place to deal with the ethnology of this race, but all views are most fairly set forth by Dr. E. A. W. Budge in the first volume of his "History of Egypt." It will be sufficient to say that they were a fair-skinned race, with brown or reddish hair, and of medium height. In some departments of their artistic work they have never been surpassed by any other people of the neolithic age, to which period we must assign their civilization.

No people ever executed finer work in the making and finishing of their flint knives and weapons.

#### FLINT KNIVES AND WEAPONS

The flint bangles and armlets show a wonderful skill in the manipulation of so difficult a material as flint,\* while the curious slate figures of animals, birds, etc., show a strong graphic instinct and accurate modelling of animal forms. The representations of the human form are very crude, more so than any found in Chaldean art, but a late prehistoric ivory, representing a woman and child, has considerable merit. It is in their pottery that these prehistoric inhabitants of the Nile valley display an astonishing degree of skill, and a good appreciation of beauty of form and outline. The earliest ware is red, with a black glazed band round the mouth of the jar, this being produced by placing the mouth of the pot downwards in the kiln, and heaping the ashes over the part burnt black. The pottery is all hand made, and the fine collection of this ware in the Annex of the Egyptian

\* For an interesting series of specimens illustrating the making of an armlet, see British Museum Guide to Antiquities of the Stone Age, Pl. V.



FLINT TOOLS FROM EGYPT.

Department of the British Museum shows many beautiful examples. There is one vase in this collection (No. 30981) of which I give a drawing, as it certainly enables us to solve the interesting problem of the way in which man learned to make pottery. It is a small yellow-grey clay vase, not too well baked. The outer portion is very rudely etched with a pattern of crossed lines resembling basket-work. It has all the appearance of having been covered with straw or grass basket-work when wet, and which has left an irregular series of marks upon it. It has, in fact, just such an appearance as the clay lining of a thrush's nest presents when the nest is removed and the clay retained. Here, then, we see the interesting sequence which led to the making of pottery, and the use of the basket-pattern decoration in the earliest forms, with its conventional variations in later stages of artistic decoration. It is as follows:—

Man learned the art of basket-making from a bird's-nest; the clay-lined bird's-nest suggested the water-tight, clay-lined basket; cooking destroyed the outer part, leaving a baked pot, decorated with a basket pattern; hence the use of this early form of ornament.

The sequence is here illustrated.



BIRD'S-NEST BASKET AND BASKET POT.

There was a large vase found in the lowest strata at Nippur, the pre-Sargonide deposits, and therefore at least

as old as B.C. 4500, which shows this same basket origin, with the rope-like strengtheners.

Notwithstanding their skill in the working of flint and the making of pottery, there were many elements of civilization which they had not acquired. They had no knowledge of the art of writing, or the working of metals; the few fragments of copper wire, etc., found in some of the late neolithic tombs at Ballas and Nagada being probably driftings from outside. Their houses were



VASE FROM NIPPUR.

probably of wood, or reed shelters, and they certainly had no knowledge of the art of brick construction. Another important point is the fact that they do not appear, according to M. de Morgan, to have cultivated cereals, their food being chiefly fish and animals taken or killed in hunting. They dressed in the skins of animals killed in the chase, and the art of weaving appears to have been unknown. The fringed dresses figured in Budge's "History of Egypt" (vol. i. p. 145) were probably tabs or tails of skin sewn on. The paintings in a tomb found at Hieraconpolis may belong to the very earliest dynastic age, and these show animals being caught in traps, while harpoons of bone and flint were used for catching fish.






With the rise of the dynastic period, that is, the age represented by the tombs at Abydos, the great tomb at Nagada, and the art remains, slate tablets, etc., from Hieraconpolis, we find the most astonishing development in the civilization of the Nile valley.

Among the most important changes we notice the following :—



- (1) The art of writing.
- (2) The making of bricks and the construction of tombs evidently modelled on domestic houses.
- (3) Extensive use of clay for jar sealings and other purposes.
- (4) The use of the cylinder seal.
- (5) The use of copper, and the presence of gold and copper as well as precious stones.
- (6) The employment of stone for building and paving, which had been quarried and worked.
- (7) The use of staircases to enter tombs.
- (8) The style of architecture non-Egyptian, such as crenelated walls and buttresses.
- (9) The use of funeral stele to mark the tomb area.
- (10) Cultivation of cereals and other plants.
- (11) Burial of food, furniture, and probable immolation of servants with burial.
- (12) Worship of an anthropomorphic god, Osiris ; and a definite pantheon.
- (13) Grouping of tombs round the central tomb, or temple tomb, of the god.

The majority of these new elements are of such a nature as to prevent our looking upon them as natural developments which grew up in the Nile valley. The writing, even of the earliest inscriptions, shows clear indications of having been long in use ; the employment of phonetics and determinations clearly show the purely pictorial forms of the archaic cuneiform as shown in the Table (p. 57), and the Egyptian hieroglyphics ; but it is impossible to agree with Professor Hommel in regarding the Egyptian as derived from Babylonia. Pictorial systems of writing usually reflect the environment of the people using them, and in this respect there is a vast difference

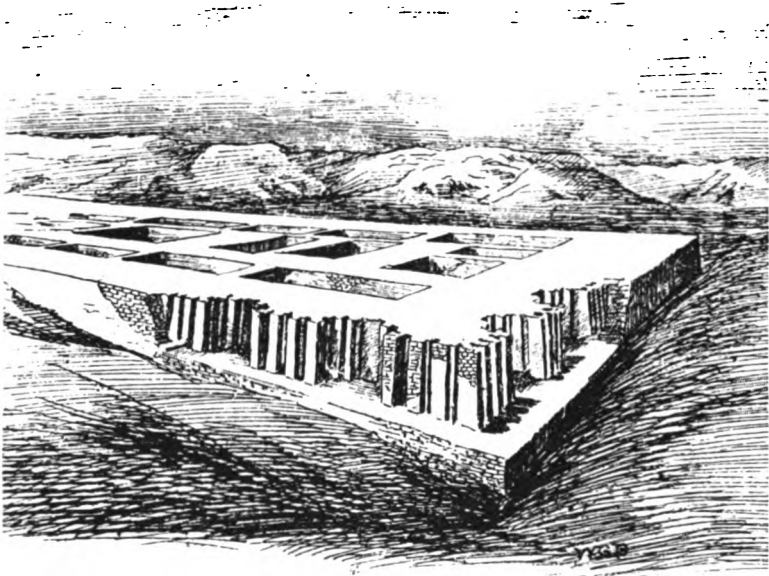
between the two systems. To take only a few examples. The Babylonian sign for water (𒍪) represents raindrops ; the Egyptian,  (the sea waves). The Babylonian sign for heaven,  (a star) ; the Egyptian,  (the covering vault of heaven). The Babylonian land sign,  (a mountain) ; the Egyptian,  (the flat surface of the Nile valley). The Babylonian sign for god, "a star ;" the Egyptian, "an axe ;" and many others might be quoted. If there is any relation between the two systems, it must be traced to some parent system far back in antiquity, and of such a system we know nothing.

All authorities are agreed that the dynastic Egyptians, whether they consisted of one or more immigrations, came from the east. Tradition points to the land of Punt, that is, the Somali coast, and probably the opposite shores of the Red Sea, as the source of one band of colonists. These we may identify with colonists who entered the Nile valley by the Kenh Kossair road through the Wady Hammanat, and whose earliest remains were found at Koptos. They bring with them the worship of the ithyphallic god Amsu-Min, whose fetish-pole, decorated with ostrich feathers, Red Sea shells, and swordfish, was found upon the archaic figures discovered by Professor Petrie. We have no real knowledge of the civilization of these immigrants, and certainly many elements in the preceding table cannot be assigned to them. It is of no use to look to the Lybian side for any important influence ; we must therefore look elsewhere.

The most important help is afforded us by the brick-work and the extensive use of clay. The art of brick-making could never have originated in the Nile valley, for Nile mud, although it will make bricks, is by no means a first-class material. Again, the construction of tombs,

such as those of Zer, Mer-neit, shows that the people who constructed them had long been in the habit of erecting brick buildings.

The brick-builders of the ancient world *par excellence* were the Babylonians, and it is to them that we must turn

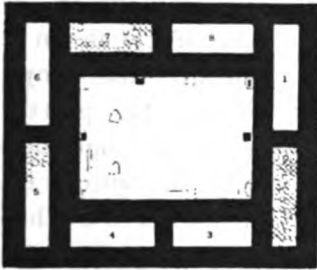


ROYAL TOMB OF NAGADA.

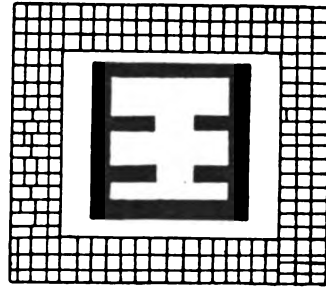
to see if any similarity can be found between the work at Abydos and that of the most ancient edifices of Chaldea.

In the first place, as to the bricks themselves, there is an important point to be noticed. We are so familiar with the large square tile-brick of the post-Sargon times in Babylonia, that we are not inclined to think of any others. The excavations at Nippur have revealed an interesting series of evolutionary stages in the brick-making of Babylonia. On this point I may quote the

words of Professor Hilprecht: "In the earliest Sumerian stratum we recognize six phases of historical development by means of the different kinds of bricks employed. The first is characterized by an entire absence of baked bricks, and the exclusive use of adobes. The earliest bricks are very small, flat on the lower surface, and strongly rounded on the upper side, with generally also a thumb-mark. They look more like rubble or quarry stones, in imitation



TOMB OF MER NEIT.



BUILDING OF UR NINA.

of which they were made (Gen. xi. 3), than the artificial products of man."\*

Professor Hilprecht has given the sizes of these small pre-Sargonide bricks, and their dimensions are  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ ; while Professor Petrie gives the dimensions of the Abydos bricks as  $8\cdot9 \times 4\cdot5 \times 3$  and  $9\cdot6 \times 4\cdot9 \times 3$  the average. Thus we see an almost complete agreement in the style of brick employed.

Now as to the earlier tombs. They are large square buildings, accessible only from the top, exactly resembling the great brick edifices of the age of Ur Nina at Tello in Sirpurra, and where the construction of these edifices is compared, resemblances are most striking.

\* "Explorations in Bible Lands," p. 542.

These Chaldean buildings, of which examples were found at Tello or Nippur, were chiefly used as record chambers and treasuries, and were entered only through the roof by a species of manhole.\* In the treasury of



STAIRCASE IN TOMB OF DEN.

Ur Nina, discovered by De Sarzec at Tello, as shown above, there was a curious passage running round the inner wall, as in the tomb of Per-ab-sen at Abydos (Petrie, "Royal Tombs," II., p. 11).† Indeed, although there was a difference in the purpose of the Chaldean and Egyptian buildings, one cannot help being struck by the very marked similarity of design.

Next, we must notice a decided affinity in the style of architecture in the extensive use of buttresses and recess panels, as in the great tomb supposed to be that of Mena, found by M. de Morgan at Nagada, and which might, in general plan, be taken to be a Chaldean building.‡

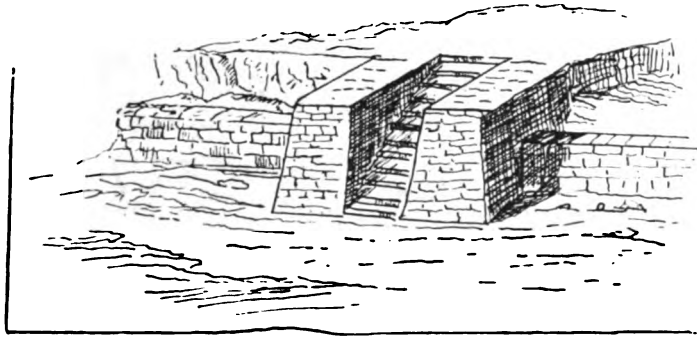
\* Hilprecht, "Explorations in Bible Lands," pp. 390-92.

† The double walls were of special importance. They excluded the heat of summer and winter humidity, and thus kept the stores dry, while both in Egypt and Chaldea they protected the buildings from being broken into from outside.

‡ See illustration, p. 96.

This also is to be seen in the enormous recesses in the tombs of Zet at Abydos.\*

The use of the staircase was known very early in Chaldea, and in the building of Ur Nina at Tello, which we cannot reasonably place later than B.C. 4500, and possibly earlier, we have a good example which we may compare with that in the tomb of Dcn. There was a very complete staircase discovered by Mr. Taylor at Eridu.



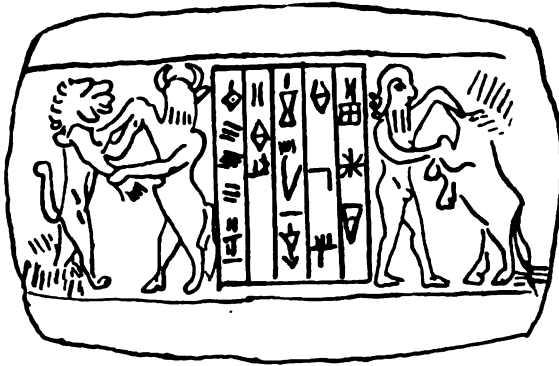
STAIRCASE AT ERIDU.

The new-comers not only exhibited in their extensive use of brick-work a knowledge of the value of clay, which could hardly have been acquired in the Nile valley, but they used clay very extensively for other purposes, especially for closing and stopping the large jars containing funeral offerings, and the peculiar conical shape of the large stoppings calls to mind the clay cones of Babylonia.

The cylindrical seal was undoubtedly a Chaldean invention, and was in use certainly as early as B.C. 3800, as we have many seals of the period, including that of

\* Petrie, "Royal Tombs," Part I. p. 63

Ibni Sarru, his librarian. Of the use of the seal at this period, a most interesting proof is afforded by the discovery of a number of pieces of clay impressed with seals at Tello; these have been published by M. Thureau Dangin,\* and the following are the best examples. These seals are by no means primitive in workmanship, and therefore presuppose a long use of this important object.



SEALS B.C. 3800.†

The seal found in the tomb of Zer shows a distinct resemblance to the Babylonian examples of the oldest type, and seems to be another connecting-link between these two ancient civilizations. With the cylinder seal came the brick stamp, which was in use in Babylonia at a very early period, those of Sargon and Naram Sin (B.C. 3800) having been found at Nippur.

\* Thureau Dangin, "Tablettes Chaldéenes Inédites," Pt. VII.-VIII.

† As these seals bear sculptured representations of the heroic deeds of Gilgamesh and his companion Ea-bani, as recorded in the Chaldean epic, it is evident that that poem was as old as the age of Sargon I.



CLAY BEATS OF KA, I-II DYNASTY, EGYPT.





Another innovation, which we may attribute to foreign, and possibly Chaldean, influence, was the funeral stele. The Babylonians looked upon the stele as one of the most sacred objects, as protecting the rights of both the dead and the living to the land or the grave. In a curious funeral text in the British Museum,\* with which I shall deal more fully anon, the King says, "The grave-stone which marked his resting-place, with mighty bronze I sealed to its entrance."



EARLY BABYLONIAN SEAL.

The setting up of these steles, as marking boundaries and commemorating events, was one of the Babylonian customs. On the very archaic inscribed cones of Entemena, Viceroy of Sirpurra, about B.C. 4500, we have mention of steles set up to mark the frontiers of the civic kingdom.† The Babylonian steles were of two kinds, the  $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$  (*aban narua*, or "worked stones"), similar to the limestone stele at Abydos, or the stele of Mer Neit, and the boulder, or rough stone, only sufficiently shaped to receive the inscription. These were called  $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$  (*kudurri*), or "boundary stones," no doubt the survival of the "boulder stone" once set up to mark private property, like the Hebrew stone of witness. The stele of Per-ab-Sen found at Abydos bears a close resemblance to this class of stele. It is here placed side by side with a Babylonian example.

It is evident that the persons who carved and shaped

\* See p. 111.

† See p. 125.

these steles had had considerable experience in the art of working stone, of which the prehistoric Egyptians had no acquaintance whatever. Such work must have required metal tools, and these, both practical and in miniature,



STELE OF PER-AB-SEN (ABYDOS).

BOUNDARY STONE OF METI-SIKHU  
(B.C. 1300).

as funeral deposits, were found in large numbers at Abydos.\* This custom of the placing of models of

\* Petrie, "Royal Tombs," II. p. 28.

implements in use on earth in the tombs of the dead was also current in Chaldea, for Mr. Taylor found in the ruins of Abu. Sharain, the ancient Eridu, small clay models of hoes, sickles, nails, and other tools, which had, no doubt, been deposited with the dead.\*

The nearest copper-producing region to Egypt was the peninsula of Sinai, and here, from remotest ages, men had quarried for hard stone and copper, and also for the much-prized turquoise, the *mafka* of the Egyptians, the *samu*, or "blue stone," of the Babylonians. To this region Ur Nina had sent for hard stone, and for hard woods, and until late the region was well wooded with acacia and other trees, these having been destroyed for making charcoal.†

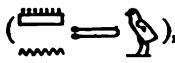

These expeditions would be about B.C. 4500, most probably earlier, so that Egypt and Sinai would then meet in these regions. Some seven centuries later Naram Sin conquered the land of Maganna, while about B.C. 2800 Gudea was obtaining porphyry, diorite, and other hard stones from this region for making his statues. Perhaps we may see a distinct conflict between the two most ancient kingdoms, when Senefru (B.C. 3700) drove out the foreigners from Sinai and regained possession of the mines. In his inscription he states that he drove out these foreigners (the Annu) and took possession of the mines. That the builders of the tombs at Abydos had considerable knowledge of the art of quarrying hard stone is shown by the granite paving in the tomb of Den Setui, the fourth king of the First Dynasty at Abydos,‡ and the stone

\* Taylor, *J. R. A. S.*, vol. xv. (1855), p. 415, *et seq.*

† Harper, "Bible Lands," p. 457.



‡ Petrie, "Royal Tombs," II. p. 9.

inner chamber of the tomb of Zer. In the tomb of Zer, whom we may identify, according to Professor Petrie, with Teta, the second king of the First Dynasty, we have some valuable evidence as to this early quarry-work. He says, "The blocks of stone are all fresh quarried, being soft, and dragging under the tool when dressed. The natural cleavages are used as far as possible, and often half a face will be a cleavage, and the rest hammer-dressed. All the adze-dressed faces were entirely dressed. The adze had a short handle, as seen by the radius of the curvature of the cuts; and the cutting-edge was of flint, not copper, as seen by examining the marks of dressing with a magnifier."\* Here, then, we have an interesting example of the stone and metal ages, for the stone could hardly be quarried with flint tools, but was dressed with them. But this overlapping of the stone and bronze ages in Egypt is often seen until much later times. In a quarry of the time of Teta of the Sixth Dynasty, which I visited in 1893, both bronze chisels and stone hammers for dressing were found.

There is another but later feature in Egyptian archæology which we may probably trace to the influence of this Sinaitic mining population. The inhabitants of that region were divided into two classes: the *Annu* () or "stone cutters," and the *Mentiu* () or "cave dwellers"—the "troglodytes." Just as the brick-built and chambered tomb presupposes a people dwelling in brick-built houses, so the rock-cut tomb indicates a cave-dwelling population, and it is difficult to see where else than Sinai we are to look for these. So the evidence of a connection

\* Petrie, "Royal Tombs," II. p. 13.

between Sinai and the early dynastic builders at Abydos seems established ; and if this connection existed, it also implies a contact with the oldest civilization of Chaldea—certainly from B.C. 4500 to B.C. 3800.

I now come to the most important new feature—the introduction of wheat and other cereals. As M. de Morgan has shown, wheat was not found in the pre-dynastic tombs of Egypt, nor is it indigenous to that land, but was introduced into the Nile valley from the east. The botanical researches of De Candole,\* Dr. Schweinfurt, and others, have shown that the indigenous home of wheat was on the western slopes of the Persian Apennines, and the discovery of the harvest settlements in the lower strata at Susa, with the heaps of sickle-teeth, would show that cereals were cultivated here prior to their introduction into Babylonia. There is no trace of cereals in deposits of the prehistoric graves, though some of the later graves, which perhaps overlapped the dynastic age, at Ballas and Nagada, contain sickle-teeth and corn-rubbers. The Egyptian corn-god was Nepera () a name which has a foreign sound, and which seems to me to be derived from the Babylonian *eburu* (“in-gathering, produce of the field, harvest”). As we have seen, in Babylonia the growing of corn was associated with Asari, that is, Ea, and later Merodach ; and so in Egypt we find it associated with Osiris, from whose body wheat is represented growing.† The oldest divinity of corn in Babylonia was the goddess *Nissaba* (—| ) whose name is a compound ideogram, meaning “corn-gathering,” and which is explained in the Semitic by *Serakh* (“the harvest goddess”). This goddess we find

\* Candole, “The Origin of Cultivated Plants.”

† Lanzoni, “Mythological Dict.,” pl. 46.

invoked by the earliest Babylonian rulers. Another introduction of the harvest-god by the immigrants from Western Asia would be most natural.

With the advent of the dynastic Egyptians we have a very considerable change in the funeral customs. Here



DEMON OF SOUTH-WEST WIND.

we see again a very close similarity to the Babylonian methods. Much light has been thrown upon Babylonian eschatology recently, especially by the publication by Mr. Thompson, of the British Museum, of the Babylonian

tablets on Demonology and Magic.\* These valuable inscriptions belong to a very early age, and were copied and translated by the Semitic scribes. The soul, according to the Babylonians, was called *ekimmu* (𒂍𒀭 𒂍𒀭 𒂍𒀭), "that which is snatched away," and which in all its essential features resembles the Egyptian *ka* (𓀀), or double. Closely associated with the *ekimmu* was the *uttuk* (𒂍𒀭 𒂍𒀭), which seems to have been a transparent form, or double, of the dead. In the magical tablets the *uttuk* is said to come forth from the grave like "a wind-gust," an idea which seems to me to be derived from the "dust-clouds," or "whirling pillars of dust," like water-spouts which often float over the deserts and cemeteries in the East.

Like the Egyptian *ka*, the *ekimmu* lived on the funeral offerings which were placed in the tombs. If these were not supplied, the restless spirit wandered forth in search of food, or was compelled to subsist on the garbage of the streets. These starving spirits were a great terror to the living, and much of the magical literature consists of exorcisms against them. We read, for example—

"The gods who seize upon man  
Have come forth from the grave.  
The evil wind-gusts  
Have come forth from the grave.  
To demand the payment of rites and pouring out of libations  
They have come forth from the grave.  
All that is evil, in their host like a whirlwind has come forth."

The state of the unburied one, or one whose funeral offerings were not maintained, is well described in the Chaldean epic (tab. xii.)—

\* Thompson, "Babylonian Devils and Evil Spirits," p. xxix. *et seq.*



"The man whose corpse lieth in the desert,  
 Thou and I have often seen such a one ;  
 His spirit resteth not on earth.  
 The man whose spirit hath none to care for it,  
 Thou and I have often seen such a one.  
 The dregs of the cup, the leavings of the feast,  
 And that which is cast into the street, are his food."

In the tablet of the descent of Istar into Hades the same state of the neglected dead is referred to. Where Allat or Eris-Kigal, "the bride of the pit," the wife of Nergal, the god of death, threatens to punish one, saying—

"I will curse thee with a terrible curse.  
 Food from the gutters of the city shall be thy nourishment.  
 The sewers of the city shall supply thy drink.  
 The shadow of the wall shall be thy seat.  
 Exile and banishment shall crush thy strength."

The most dreaded punishment to be inflicted on a man was to lie unburied on the field. In the curses which form the epilogue of the code of Khammurabi, we read, "May Istar create trouble and rebellion for him, strike down his warriors, so that the earth drinks their blood, and heaps of the corpses of his army may she heap (upon the field); may his soldiers never have graves." The fate of those that had no funeral rites is again given in a magical text—

"Whether thou art the ghost of one unburied,  
 Or a ghost that none provideth for,  
 Or a ghost that none pour libations for it,  
 Or a ghost that has no posterity." \*

Here we have an exact agreement with the custom of ancient Egypt, and the necessity for funereal offerings, and for pure and good things for the deceased in the grave.

\* That had no relations to provide the funeral offerings.

This dread of impure food is constantly repeated in the Book of the Dead and in the funeral inscriptions. For example, we have a chapter (LII.) called "the chapter of not eating filth in the underworld," where we read, "That which is an abomination unto me let me not eat." Again, "Let me not eat filth, let me not drink foul water. I eat of that which the gods eat, I live upon that which they live upon, I eat of the cakes which are in the hall of the lord of sepulchral offerings." Or take the beautiful prayer in the funeral stele in the possession of Lady Meux—



"May they give funeral offerings of bread, beer, oxen and fowl, incense, cool water, wax and linen bandages, all pure and pleasant things, that heaven gives or earth produces, or the Nile brings forth from his storehouse, the sweet north wind to the soul of the deceased."

The funeral customs of Babylonia, like those of Egypt, were stereotyped at an early period, and changed but little. Among the inscriptions in the British Museum is a very interesting tablet which describes the funeral of an Assyrian king, possibly, I think, Esarhaddon. It reads—

"Within the grave, the secret place, in kingly oil I laid him. The gravestone which marked his resting-place with mighty bronze I fastened its entrance. I protected it with an incantation ; vessels of silver and gold

such as my father loved, all the furniture that befitted the grave, the due right of his sovereignty, I displayed before the sun-god. And beside the father who begat me I set them on the grave. Gifts unto the princes, unto the spirits of earth, and to the gods who inhabit the grave, I presented." \*

Here we have all the essential features of the Egyptian royal burial—the placing the body in oil, some form of embalmment, the erection of the funeral stele, and the lavish gifts of funeral furniture and offerings to the gods of Amenti. The displaying of the treasures to the sun-god, who, like the Egyptian Ra, was the god of the resurrection, was a species of consecration. As yet we have not found any trace of an Assyrian royal tomb or of a Babylonian one of a king of either the Middle or Late Empire; but that the burial customs very closely resembled those of Egypt there seems very little doubt.

A great light has been thrown upon ancient burial customs of the Babylonians by the explorations at Nippur, so splendidly carried out by the American expedition under Dr. Hilprecht, and by the German expedition under Dr. Koldoweh at El Hibba. The burials were of two kinds, "body graves" and "ash burials," but in both cases fire was employed, though in later times it was only pontial or symbolical. The process seems to have been as follows:—

The selected spot was first levelled, and remains of any previous cremations removed. The body was then wrapped in reed mats, laid on the ground, and covered over with rudely formed bricks or a layer of soft clay. The latter was quite thin in the upper parts, but thicker

\* King's "Babylonian Religion," p. 48.

near the ground, so that as little resistance as possible was offered to the heat attacking the body from above, while at the same time the covering retained the solidity necessary to prevent too early a collapse under the weight of fuel heaped upon it. Weapons, utensils, cylinder seats, food and drink, and similar objects, were deposited at various times in the tomb. In many cases the ashes were merely collected in a heap and covered with a kettle-formed vessel. These resemble the heap burials at Hu and El Amrah in Egypt. Burials of this kind are called "ash graves," and are the more common and more ancient at Serghul and El Hibba. The urns of common people were deposited anywhere in the mound, while rich families had special houses erected for them. In the pre-Sargonide necropolis found by Hilprecht at Nippur most interesting discoveries were made. The explorer says, "I gathered sufficient evidence to show that all these ashbeds, occurring in a stratum twenty-five to thirty feet deep, on all four sides of the ziggurat (stage-tower), are to be regarded as places where human bodies had been cremated. The thousands of urns discovered above and below them, and as a rule badly crushed, but in some cases well preserved, are funeral vases in which ashes and bones left after the cremation, together with objects once dear to\* the person, together with food and drink, were placed and buried. The fragments of walls and rooms repeatedly met with in this lower strata, and always containing whole or broken urns, are the remains of tombs or funeral chambers." †

A curious feature of these ancient necropoli was the

\* A curious parallel with Egypt was found by Taylor at Eridu, in the burial of clay models of tools, axes, sickles, mattocks, etc., in the tombs.

† Hilprecht, "Explorations in Bible Lands," p. 456 *et seq.*

discovery of drains communicating with tombs and wells in the cemetery to supply the deceased with the much-desired "pure water." More important than the discovery of these towns of the dead was their arrangement. It was noticed at El Hibba and Serghul by Dr. Koldoweh, and by Dr. Hilprecht at Nippur and other sites of the pre-Sargonide age, that the centre of the necropolis was always marked by a ziggurat, or stage-tower. This raises



CHALDEAN TOMB FROM MUGHER (UR).

the important question, was the stage-tower really a tomb of great importance—either that of a god or a divine king? If so, then we have a most striking parallel to the arrangement of the Egyptian necropolis grouped round the tomb of the king or god. At Sakkara, round the stepped pyramid; at Medum, round the tomb of Senefru; at Abydos, round the reputed tomb of Osiris. Strabo (16, 5) speaks of the great stage-tower of Babylon—the ziggurat of E. Sagil, the temple of Bel Marduk—as "the sepulchre of Bel." So in like manner Diodorus

informs us that Semiramis built a tower in Nineveh, as a tomb of her husband Ninos. Among the inscriptions found at Nippur was one recording the restoration of the great stage-tower by Assurbanipal, which is translated by Dr. Hilprecht.\*

"E gingu (the house of the tomb), the stage-tower of Nippur, the foundations of which are placed on the breast of the ocean, the walls of which had grown old and fallen with decay, I built that house with baked bricks and bitumen, and completed its construction."

Here, then, the stage-tower at Nippur is called "the tomb;" and therefore the tomb of Mullil, or Bel. In a curious magical inscription recently published by Mr. Thompson † this is also shown, where we read, "The evil spirits from the tomb have come forth, from the house of Bel have they come forth." We know of other stage-towers that were also tombs. Gudea (B.C. 2800) speaks of the tomb-chamber of cedar he made for Nin Sugir in his temple of Lagash, or Sirpurra. From the code of Khammurabi ‡ we know that the stage-tower of Ai in Sippara was a tomb, for the king says, "(I am he) who clothed with verdure the tomb of the goddess Ai (the bride) in Sippara;" while Nabonidus speaks of the stage-tower of the temple of the sun-god of Larsa as "his noble tomb." §

It is evident that, like the pyramids of Egypt, the stage-tower, which formed the nucleus of the Babylonian temple, was regarded as the tomb of the god.

\* The question of the stage-tower tombs is very fully discussed by Dr. Hilprecht in "Explorations in Bible Lands," pp. 456-469. I only use such portions as relate to comparison with Egypt.

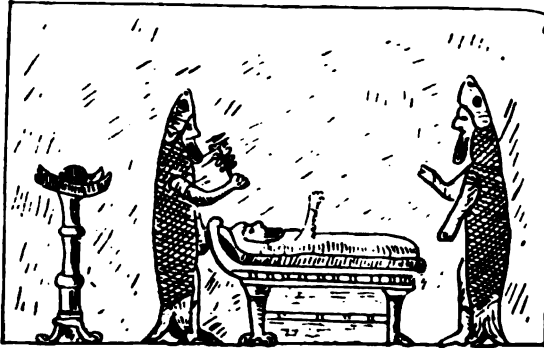
† "Select Babylonian Inscriptions," Pt. XVII. pl. 25, ll. 1, 2.

‡ Code, Col. II., ll. 26-28.

§ *P.S.B.A.*, 1889, p. 42.

The resemblance between the stepped pyramid at Sakkara and the Babylonian stage-towers is so striking that the connection between the two seems undoubted when we consider the arrangement of the necropoli in the two lands.

It must be remembered, too, that this belief was current in the very oldest days of Chaldean civilization, and with some the belief in a tomb of Osiris at Abydos was a standard doctrine of the Egyptian religion, and is



FUNERAL COUCH.

referred to constantly in the Book of the Dead and other religious texts. In the pyramid texts of the sixth dynasty (B.C. 3200) we have Abydos spoken of as the "place where Osiris" was interred, and it was the desire of all pious Egyptians to rest near the tomb of Osiris, if only for a time. Probably at a very early period there had been a special tomb dedicated to the god, then afterwards represented by the temple. At the time of the eighteenth dynasty (B.C. 1600) the traditional tomb seems to have been lost, and so the tomb of King Zer was transformed into the resting-place of Osiris, and in this M. Amélineau

found the remains of a stone bed or couch on which the body of Osiris was represented. This couch of Osiris is constantly represented on the monuments and papyri. Usually we find the god lying on the couch, or rising from it with renewed life, while Isis and Nephthys stand at the head and foot. We cannot help comparing this scene with the funeral couch represented in the Babylonian funeral tablet referred to above, of which an enlarged drawing is given here.

Here we see that Isis and Nephthys are replaced by two figures of Ea, or priests of that god, who are in the act of raising the dead to life. Herodotus, describing the shrine of the tomb-tower of Bel Marduk in Babylon, says, "On the highest tower is a large temple, and in the temple a large and beautifully prepared bed, and beside it a golden table. There is no image there, nor does any one watch there through the night, except a woman of the country, whom, as the Chaldean priests say, their god has chosen out of all the land." Here the father of history is quite correct, for Assurbanipal speaks of the gold and jewelled couch he made for Marduk, while the chosen bride of Marduk was, no doubt, the wife of the god or sister of the god spoken of in the code of Khammurabi (sect. 182).

Sufficient has now been said to show the marked resemblance between the early civilization of the Nile and Tigro-Euphrates valley, and to suggest that those important changes which mark the rise of dynastic Egypt are to be attributed to intercourse with the older culture of Chaldea.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE CITY KINGDOMS

“And Cush begat Nimrod : he began to be a mighty one upon the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord : wherefore it is said, Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Akkad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.”—GEN. x. 8-10.

**I**T is not intended in this chapter to write a history of the early days of the Babylonian empire, for although we have a large number of inscribed records extending back to nearly five thousand years before the Christian era, and which contain brief historical statements chiefly relating to local wars and border raids, it is not until the rise of the first Semitic dynasty under Sargon of Agade, probably Akkad, that we begin to get any material of a really historical character. The discoveries made by the American expedition at Nippur, and by M. de Morgan at Susa, have shown that the records of this period, long regarded as mythical, have a real historic basis and value. It is now clearly proved that those energetic Semitic rulers Sargon I. and his son Naram-Sin spread the power of the First of Empires over the greater part of Western Asia.

Although, at present, it is not possible to construct a complete history of the early dynasties of the Babylonian empire, there are inscriptions accessible which enable us to trace the main features of its growth and development

until the final consolidation under the first dynasty of Babylon, B.C. 2300.

The valuable passage at the head of this chapter is like that which I have dealt with in the legend of civilization, one which has been written by a writer who was acquainted with the main features of Babylonian civilization and history, for it contains a curious retrospective synopsis of the chief epochs in Babylonian history. Taking the latter portion of the quotation, we find that the Hebrew chronicler has given four distinct periods in the history of the kingdom, each represented by a city, which was then capital of the period. His sequence is Babel, Erech, Akkad, and Calneh, a similar arrangement to that we have noticed in his account of the Assyrian kingdom; and his arrangement is retrospective from the times of the first Babylonian dynasty—

- |                      |     |     |                   |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-------------------|
| 1. Babel             | ... | ... | from B.C. 2300.   |
| 2. Erech             | ... | ... | „ B.C. 3000-2300. |
| 3. Akkad, or Agade   | ... | „   | B.C. 3800-3500.   |
| 4. Calneh, or Nippur | ... | „   | B.C. 4500-3800.   |

This interesting sequence is not all, for there is a valuable record of the very earliest days of the empire also.

The genealogy of Nimrod, which has long been a puzzle, seems at last to admit of a definite solution. The discoveries at Nippur show that the earliest seats of rule in Babylonia were Sirpurra (Tello), under a very short dynasty of kings, of whom the most important were Urnina and Urkagina; and the city of Kiš (𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭), under a dynasty of powerful and warlike rulers. The power of this city, as I have already stated, lasted until the confederation of the various city kingdoms under the

first Babylonian dynasty. The very earliest inscriptions of Babylonia, probably about B.C. 5000, are those found on broken vases in the pre-Sargonide strata at Nippur, and these record the wars between the kings of Kiengi, or Sumir—the Shinar of Genesis—and the “hordes of Kiš.”\* The earliest of these relate to a certain Ensagguš-anna, “the wise lord of heaven,” as Dr. Hilprecht renders it, who spoiled the city of Kiš, to which is applied the epithet “the city of the evil heart.” The warfare lasted for a long time. We have a record of a Sumerian victory where the king of Kish, Enc-gul, was defeated, and his city, teeming with malignity, spoiled, and his statue of bright silver and his spoil dedicated to Mullil, the god of Nippur.†

The most important inscriptions of the kings of Kish are the obelisk of Maništu-su, which has been so often referred to in this work, and the long and very archaic inscriptions engraved on a set of hard stone vases found at Nippur. These inscriptions are perhaps our oldest historical records. Much of the text is taken up with religious matter, but here and there we get fragments of historical matter.

“To Mullil, king of the world, Lugalzaggisi, king of Erech, king of the world, priest of Anu, minister of Nisaba (corn-god), son of Ukush, patesi of Gizukh.”

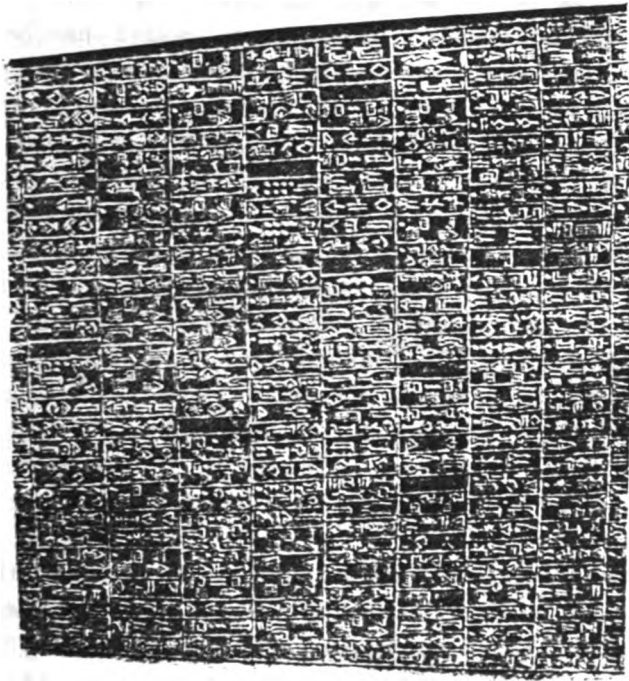
The monarch then describes the various gods who favoured him; and then proceeds to give us a little fragment of history.

“Mullil, the lord of the world, made him to prosper,

\* I am inclined to think these epithets of “evil heart,” full of malignity, applied to Kish, indicate that the people and their lords were intruders who had forced their way into the land.

† I cannot agree with Radau, in “Early Babylonian History,” p. 124, in regarding this victory as one by one of the rulers of Sirpurra.

and gave him the kingship of the whole earth. When, then, he had entrusted to him the rule of lands from the rising to the setting of the sun, he subdued all from the Upper Sea (Mediterranean) to the Lower Sea of the Tigris and Euphrates."



OBELISK OF MANIŠTU-SU.

This most ancient ruler exercised dominion over the cities of Ur, Erech, and Larsa. The kingdom of Kish was certainly the oldest in Babylonia.

The ruins of Kish are represented by the mound of El Oiehmar, about eight miles south-east of Hillah. It is a mound of great size, according to Kerr Porter, who

visited the site ; it is about two hundred and eighty yards in circumference, and rises to a height of over one hundred and fifty feet above the plain. It is a mound which displays every indication of vast antiquity, far exceeding that of Babylon, and its position, commanding the whole of the fertile plain of Middle Babylonia, makes it a site of great military importance. Although the mound has been visited by several travellers, none seem to have thought it worth while to make a drawing of it. But Kerr Porter and Bellino, who visited the ruins in the early part of last century, brought away some bricks, the inscriptions upon which enable us to identify it as the site of Kish.\* One brick, with the partly obliterated name of a Babylonian king, gives us two important names, the temple of *Metearsag* (the adornments of the warrior), and the name of the god *Zamama*, the Babylonian god of war. Now, from the long introduction to the inscription of *Khammurabi*, we know that this was the chief temple of the city of Kish. Other small corn tablets in the British Museum, obtained by Dr. Budge, also state that this was the site of Kish.

Now, Kish is the Biblical *Cush*.† The kings of this city were overlords of all the other cities of Babylonia, where *patesis*, or viceroys, ruled under them. Among the cities most associated with Kish was that of *Marad*,‡ the site of which is marked by the mound of *Tel-Edé*, a little north-east of *Erech*. This city is mentioned on the obelisk of *Maništu-su*, and the kings of Kish claimed the title of *Nin-Marad*, "lord of Marad."§ In this title we have the origin of the name of *Nimrod*. This identification is

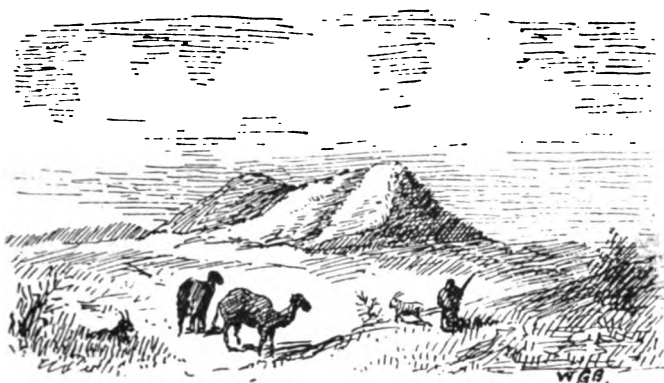
\* Ker Porter, "Travels," vol. ii. Pl. 77, No. 1. † Gen. x. 8.

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confirmed by the curious fact revealed in the epic that Gilgames, the great ethnic hero of the Babylonians, was a native of Marad ; and thus we have an additional proof tending to confirm our identification of him with Nimrod.

The history of this period is chiefly composed of records of border wars and corn-raids. The most important records come from the city of Sirpurra,\* or Lagash, the ruins of which are marked by the mounds of Tello,



TEL-EDÉ.

and have been most systematically explored by the French explorer M. de Sarzec.

The most interesting monument of this period is the famous stele of the Vultures, now in the Louvre, which records the victory of E-annadu, viceroy of Sirpurra, over the people of Giz-ukhu, a small city kingdom represented by the mounds of Iskha, a little north-east of Tello. The scenes depicted on the stele are on the obverse—a figure of E-annadu, with a huge club in his hand, while he grasps a large net, which is full of captives, whose heads, protruding through the meshes, he is engaged in crushing

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with his mace. On the reverse we have a series of battle-scenes represented—the king going forth in his chariot drawn by asses; the soldiers marching in solid phalanx after him, clad in armour, which seems to be composed of leather, with plates of metal sewn on. The next scene represents the battlefield after the fight, and the vultures pecking the heads of the enemy. It is from this scene, the first portion of the stele discovered, that the monument takes its name.

Another group represents the burial of the dead. The bodies of the dead are piled head and toe one above the other, and men are carrying baskets of earth with which to cover them. If the dead were not buried, but left uncarred for, they became terrible wandering evil spirits, haunting men.

The scene is well explained by the following extract from a cone found at Sirpurra :—

COL. I.—To Mullil, king of the world, the father of the gods, upon his righteous command . . .

Enlil, king of the lands, the father of the gods, upon his righteous command, Ninsugir and . . .

marked off the boundary (of the land) by a well.

Mesilim, king of Kish, upon the command of his god Kadi, on the boundary (?) of their territories, on that place a stele he erected.

Ush, patesi of Gishukh, according to evil intentions acted ;

that stele he took away ; into the territory of Shirpurra he went.

Ninsugir, the hero of Enlil, according to his (Ninsugir's) righteous command, with Gishukh a battle he made (*i.e.* Mesilim).

Upon the command of Enlil a scourge he brought over (them).

The dead ones in a place of the field he buried.

Eanatum, patesi of Shirpurra, the ancestor of Entemena, patesi of Shirpurra, and (with) Enakalli, patesi of

- Gishukh, marked off the boundaries of the land by a canal,
- COL. II.—and a canal from the great river to the Guedin he made to go.
- A stele on this canal he inscribed. The stele of Mesilim to its place he restored.
- Into the territory of Gishukh he did not go ravaging.
- On the Imdubba of Ninsugir, and on the Nammurdakigarra, a sanctuary of Enlil, a sanctuary of Ninkharsag, a sanctuary of Ninsugir, a sanctuary of Utu, he built.
- On corn for Niná, on corn for Ninsugir, 1 karu upon the men of Gishukh as tax he placed, and as tribute he put upon. 400 great karu (= 1,440,000 gur) he made to bring.
- He made order not to spoil that grain. Urlumma, patesi of Gishukh, of the boundary canal of Ninsugir, of the boundary canal of Niná, which (Eannatum) had made to go out, their steles into the fire he cast and took away.
- The sanctuaries dedicated to the gods, (which) on the Nammurdakigarra had been built, he destroyed.
- COL. III.—the lands he ravaged, the boundary canal of Ninsugir he crossed over, Eannatum, patesi of Shirpurra, in the field . . .
- of the territory of Ninsugir upon the dogs he poured out his terror. Entemena, the beloved son of Eannatum, sent them under the yoke. Urlumma he made to return; up to the very midst of Gishukh he crushed him.
- 60 men of his army on the side of the Lummasirta he left; of that soldiery its bones on the plains he left. His dead ones (*i.e.* Urlumma's) in five places he buried.
- At that time Ili, the patesiat over the Gishukhites, he made to accept.
- COL. IV.—The boundary canal of Ninsugir, the boundary canal of Niná, the Imdubba (?) of Ninsugir, which goeth to (the side of) the Tigris."

The British Museum possesses some curious clay steles, inscribed with very archaic characters, recording the name and titles of this king E-anna-du.



This inscription reads :—

- COL. I.—E-anna-du, viceroy of Sirpurra, endowed with power by Mullil, nourished with the holy milk of the goddess Ninkharsag, the chosen one of Ninsugir,
- COL. II.—son of A-kurgal, viceroy of Sirpurra, he placed his yoke on the land of Elam, he placed his yoke on the land of Gisgal, and he placed his yoke on the land of Gizukh.

The rest of the inscription refers to the making of a well, of which these large bricks appear to have formed the



BRICK STELE OF E-ANNA-DU.

cornice. In addition to the brief records which these inscriptions contain of local wars, they afford much information as to the great public works which those rulers

undertook. The construction of canals was vigorously pushed on, and we find that at this time a regular network was established throughout Southern Babylonia. These canals were most perfectly constructed, in many cases being lined with brickwork, and some of them continue in use until the present day. A traveller recently passing through one of the small navigable canals near Tello saw some bricks protruding from the bank, and one of them bore the name of Eannadu, so it must have been there for six thousand years.

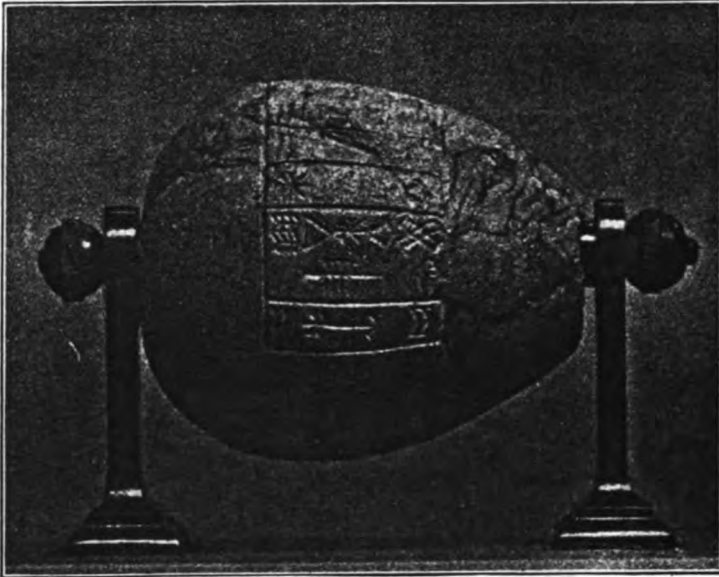
The next most important kingdom was that of Agade, or Akkad, which was the seat of a short-lived but very powerful dynasty of Semitic kings. The site of this city is still unfortunately not known, but it must have been in the neighbourhood of Sippara, in Northern Babylonia.

The dynasty was founded about B.C. 3800, by a certain Sargon (the legitimate king). Of this ruler we possess a number of inscriptions on bricks, cones, and door sockets, which show that his rule extended over the whole of Babylon, including Sippara, Nippur, and Sirpurra.

The British Museum possesses a fine mace head of this king, which is inscribed with a dedication to the sun-god of Sippara. I have already referred to several of the wars of this king, which show that his power extended over the greater part of Western Asia. One expedition mentioned is of much interest: "Over the sea of the setting sun (Mediterranean) he crossed for three years; in the (land) of the setting sun (he rested), and his hand conquered every place; to form one kingdom he united. His image at the land of the setting sun he erected. Their spoil he caused to pass over into the country of the sea (Syria)." This seems certainly to point to an expedition to Cyprus. There is no reason why the Babylonian king should not

have made his way to that island, which he would see from the slopes of the Lebanon.

The military greatness of Sargon was surpassed by that of his son Naram-Sin, of whom we possess several most interesting records. The most important of these is a fine stele found by M. de Morgan at Susa, where it seems to



MACE HEAD OF SARGON I. (B.C. 3800).

have been carried by the Elamite king Sutruh Nakhunte II., B.C. 1300, who cut an inscription of his own upon it.

Here we have a most astonishing monument for so remote an age (B.C. 3800), and which affords a very remarkable proof of the early development of art in Babylonia.

The scene represents a campaign in a mountainous country. The Babylonian soldiers are climbing the hills

through forests, while the enemy hide themselves among the trees. Behind the king, who has reached the summit, are the bodyguard, armed with long spears and carrying



STELE OF NARAM-SIN, FOUND AT SUSA.

standards. The king, who stands on the summit of the mountain, is represented in all the glory of war. His helmet is decorated with horns; he wears a short tunic reaching to the knee, and decorated with fringe, and his

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feet are shod with sandals ; he appears to be armed with short javelins, one of which he has hurled at a fallen foe, upon whom he places his foot. Behind the fallen enemy is another, who raises his hands in supplication.



ROYAL GROUP ON STELE.

This group is particularly interesting, for it appears to have formed the model on which all subsequent rock sculptures in this region were copied. We find almost a similar group in the statue of Annubanini, the king of the Lububini, and the same is repeated in the great rock-sculpture of Darius at Behistun, and even continue in the

sculptures of the Sassanian kings until after the Christian era.

This monument appears originally to have been set up in Elam at a place called Sipir, mentioned in other inscriptions along with Yamut-balim and Ansan. During the reign of Sutrak-nakhunte (*circa*. B.C. 1300) it was thrown down and brought to Susa and placed in the royal palace. The inscription of Naram-Sin was mutilated, but sufficient remains to show that it records an expedition against the land of Lububini to the north-east of Susa. The Elamite king then cut upon the cone a long inscription of his own in the Anzanian tongue, in which he dedicates the monument to his god Susinak. In the same way the column of Khammurabi was mutilated, by an erasure, to receive an inscription of this vandal king.

A statue of Naram-Sin was also discovered at Mardin, in Northern Mesopotamia, indicating his rule over that region. The historical character of the reigns of Sargon and Naram-Sin has been questioned by some scholars, but there were found at Sirpurra some documents which afford a new light upon the subject. These were a series of contract tablets, dated in the reigns of those kings, and recording certain events. Such dates to commercial documents can hardly be fictitious. The dates are—

1. Sargon made an expedition against Elam and Zakhara, opposite to Giz-ukh.
2. Sargon made an expedition against the West land (Amurru).
3. The year when he took captive Sarlak, king of Gutium.

Other tablets record expeditions against Magan, Sinai, Kiš, Nippur, and other towns, which prove beyond doubt the historical character of this king and his wars.

Both Sargon and Naram-Sin carried out extensive building operations at Nippur, and the great boundary wall of his temple, dedicated to Mullil, or Bel, was discovered by the American explorers.

There is a great break now in the continuity of Babylonian history, extending over nearly a thousand years, and when next the thread is resumed, we find that the city of Ur, now represented by the ruins of Mughier, on the west bank of the Euphrates, is the capital.



MUGHIER—UR.

Ur was one of the most important cities in Chaldea, and as ancient as the dawn of the empire. It was the chief centre of moon-worship; indeed, curiously enough, the only sacred city of the moon in Babylonia. The temple here was called the "house of the great light," and was restored and decorated by most of the Babylonian rulers until the fall of the empire. It is much to be regretted that so little exploration has been made on this important site, which is of special interest to Biblical scholars as being the birth-place of Abram. Sir Henry Rawlinson and Mr. Loftus made some explorations here, and obtained many inscribed





Nin-Sugir,\* and both built and deposited votive offerings there, while Gudea, the viceroy probably of Ur-bau, carried out most extensive operations there. Among the objects found at Sirpurra was a fine diorite statue of Ur-bahu. Upon it is a long inscription recording the building of a portion of the temple of Nin-Sugir.

The statue is a remarkably fine piece of work, the modelling of the torso and the muscles of the arms being very true to anatomy; and when we remember the hardness of the stone, it is a wonderful piece of work. We know little of the history of this king, but his building activity was very great. He it was who restored the temple of Mullil, or Bel, at Nippur, which had apparently fallen into ruin after the time of the dynasty of Sargon of Agade. He built the great stage-tower at Ziggurat, which rose above the sacred edifice; and his work is wonderfully preserved.

Inscriptions of Ur-Bau and his reign. No. 1. On a statue:—

COL. I.—

1. To the god Ninsugir,
2. the powerful warrior
3. of the god Ellilla.
4. Ur-Bau,
5. the patesi
6. of Shirpurra-ki,
7. the offspring begotten
8. by the god Nin-ágal,
9. chosen by the immutable will of the goddess Niná,
10. endowed with power by the god Ninsugir,
11. named with a favourable name by the goddess Bau,
12. endowed with intelligence by the god En-ki,

COL. II.—

1. covered with renown by the goddess Ninisi,
2. the favourite servant of the god who is king of Gish-galla-ki,

\* →Y →EY →M →N.

3. the favourite of the goddess Duzi-abzu.
4. I am Ur-ba ;
5. the god Ninsugir is my king.
6. The site of . . . he has excavated.
7. The earth thence extracted, like precious stones, he has *measured* (?) ;
8. like a precious metal he has *weighed* (?) it.

## COL. III.—

1. According to the plan adopted he has marked out a large space ;
2. into the middle (of it) he has carried this earth,
3. and he has made its *mundus*.
4. Above, a substructure, 6 cubits high, he has built.
5. Above this substructure
6. the temple E-Ninú, which illumines the darkness (?), 30 cubits in height,
7. he has built
8. for the goddess Nin-kharsag, the mother of the gods.

## COL. IV.—

1. Her temple of Sugir-ki
2. he has constructed.
3. For the goddess Bau,
4. the good lady,
5. the daughter of Anna,
6. her temple of Uru-azagga
7. he has constructed.
8. For the goddess Ninni, the lady august, the *sovereign* (?),
9. her temple of Gish-galla-ki
10. he has constructed.
11. For the god En-ki, the king of Eridu,
12. his temple of Sugir-ki

## COL. V.—

1. he has constructed.
2. For the god Nin-dara, the lord of *destinies* (?),
3. his temple he has constructed.
4. For the god Nin-ágal,
5. his god,
6. his temple
7. he has constructed.
8. For the goddess Nin-mar-ki,
9. the good lady,
10. the eldest daughter of the goddess Niná,
11. the *Esh-gu-tur* (?), the temple of her constant choice,
12. he has constructed.

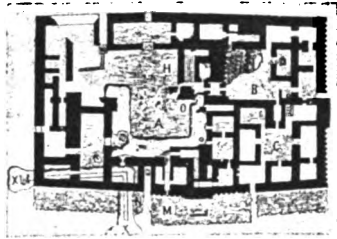
The brilliant explorations of M. de Sarzec at Tello brought to light what may be described as the oldest palace in the world. The building is of particular interest as showing how conservative the East is in regard to its domestic architecture. The palace of Gudea covers an area of about half an acre, and, like most Chaldean build-



PALACE OF GUDEA AT TELLO.

ings, is built with the angles to the cardinal points. The walls are of great thickness, twelve, and sometimes twenty feet, and are on the external face broken up by crenelated buttresses. The chief entrance is on the south-west side. Here the remains of a broad pavement were discovered, and immediately before the entrance was a large stone tomb for lustration, the sides of which were sculptured with figures of women holding water-jars. This was the

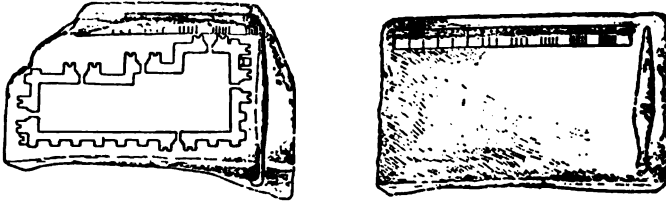
*absu*, or sea, in which all cleansed themselves before entering the royal abode. The entrance was flanked by guard chambers, and in most cases double, to prevent unauthorized entrance or exit. Passing through the gateway, we enter a broad quadrangle, surrounded by buildings on all sides. The royal quarters are on the right-hand side, consisting of three large rooms, in which, no doubt, the viceroy received his officers and subjects. These formed the *selamlik*, or state rooms. Connected with this portion was a small group of chambers, guarded by a double gateway. From the smallness of the rooms and their arrangement, indicating strict seclusion, these were, no doubt, the harem, or women's quarter.



PLAN OF THE PALACE OF GUDEA.

The north-east angle of the building was occupied by an important group of buildings. These were grouped round a stage-tower, the sides of which were decorated with crenelated buttresses, and there were the remains of a staircase leading to the upper stories. This portion, no doubt, was the private temple attached to the palace, and dedicated to the god Nin-Sugir. Here a most interesting discovery was made. In front of the entrance to the temple the explorer found two bases of large brick columns of most ingenious construction. These pillars represented certainly the two tree-gods Tammuz and Giz-Zida, who guarded the entrance to heaven, and were probably found in most Babylonian temples. In these pillars we have probably the origin of the similar objects Yakin and Boaz, which stood in front of the temple of Solomon.

Returning to the quadrangle, we find the two remaining sides surrounded by chambers, which, from the objects found in their pottery, arms, tools, etc., were occupied by soldiers and servants. The most interesting feature of this edifice is the way in which it presents the same arrangement as the modern house of an Eastern official of high rank—the *selamlık*, the harem, the private mosque, and the servants' quarters and stores. The most interesting discovery in the palace was that of several statues of the viceroy Gudea, all of which are covered with inscriptions. One of the best of these represents the king seated, with



PLANS ON THE KNEES OF THE SITTING STATUE OF GUDEA.

a tablet or drawing-board on his knee, on which is beautifully drawn the plan of an edifice; while by the side of the plan is the burr or graver with which it is drawn, and the scale to which the plan was drawn also.

This plan, as will be seen, represents, apparently, a small temple or fortified building. Beside the tablet is the burr or graver with which the plan was drawn, and on the edge of it a bevelled and graduated scale. This scale is most important for my argument. It has been carefully measured by the most accurate of mathematicians, Professor Flinders Petrie, and it works out to a cubit of 20.63, the Egyptian cubit, and not the Babylonian cubit of 21.6, and the statue itself is found to be worked to this scale—a manifest proof of the influence of Egyptian teachers.

The placing of the plan on the knees of the statue is again remarkable, and seems to me to show undoubted Egyptian influence. The name of Gudea means, in Semitic Assyrio-Babylonian, the prophet, or "the deliverer of judgment." The god Nabu, or Nebo, from whom the king derives his name, corresponded to the Egyptian Tehuti, or Thoth, "the measurer," the scribe of the gods. Although Thoth was the measurer or weigher, he was not the god of mathematics and science; these duties fell to the god I-em-hotep, or Imonthis, the son of Ptah, who was identified by the Greeks with Æsculapius, who is always represented as seated with a papyrus spread out on his knees, in exactly the attitude given to Gudea in this statue. And it is as the architect, the mathematician, that he appears in this group. The attitude, the scale, the source of material, seem to me undoubtedly the result of a close contact with the artistic schools of Egypt.\*

The statue is covered with a long inscription, which records the erection of the temples in Sirpurra. Its chief interest centres in the valuable details it gives of the various countries which Gudea laid under contribution for the materials. From Kimash, Central Arabia, came gold, copper, and hard stone; as also from Magan or Sinai. The latter also produced woods of various kinds. From Gubin, perhaps Koptos, came hard woods; perhaps from the Upper Nile and from Amanus cedar; while limestone came from Barsip, the Tul Barsip of the Assyrians, the modern Kalat Nijdim, near Carchemish, on the Euphrates.

The fleets that Gudea despatched certainly appear to have sailed round Arabia to the Gulf of Akabah, and so established at that time (B.C. 2800) a Red Sea trade.

Among the objects obtained were several beautiful

\* See illustration, p. 41.

shells engraved with designs. This trade in engraved shells was very extensive at this time, for there are several of this date bearing the cartouches of the Egyptian kings in the British and other museums.

We know little of the history after this period until we come to the period of the great Elamite invasion, which overran the country, and paved the way for the use of the first Babylonian dynasty and the consolidation of the Babylonian empire.

CHAPTER V  
THE GARDEN OF THE ORIENT

“And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the Garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.”—GEN. ii. 15.

**B**ABYLONIA was certainly the birthplace of agriculture. Although, as the discoveries at Susa show, there were settlements upon that site at a period prior to the earliest settlements in Babylonia, they do not appear to have been of a very permanent character. The *debris* of the settlements preceding the first town show that the buildings were of wood, and only occupied during harvest. The large number of sickle-teeth found in heaps seem to show that this early agricultural implement had been stored away for future use, and on the destruction of the settlement the wooden frames had decayed, and left the teeth in heaps.

In Babylonia, the earliest records, such as the obelisk of Maništu-su, or the cone of Entemena, both dating from about B.C. 4500, show that considerable progress has been made—indeed such progress that affords evidence that the farming industry had been carried on for centuries. The discoveries in Elam and Chaldea, however, have a special interest in the light which they throw upon some of the earliest stages of agriculture. The primitive settlers, who descended from the highlands into the plains bordering on the east bank of the

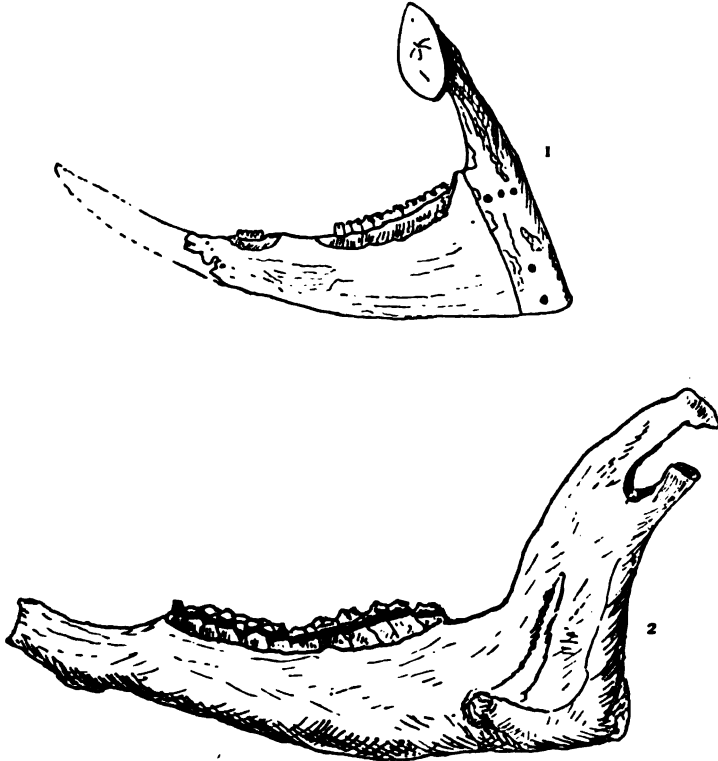


Tigris, no doubt found wheat growing wild, and were attracted to its edible character from the fact that birds ate freely of it. At first man was content to pluck the ears of wheat and rub them between his hands, but when a large quantity had thus to be treated the process became both tedious and unsatisfactory. Cutting with a flint tool produced better results, but in course of time it occurred to some prehistoric genius to vastly aid the process. The cutting of grass and the reaping of corn require a semi-circular instrument cutting towards the person holding the top of the corn, as is seen in the Egyptian sculptures. The early forms of the sickle found in Egypt and Chaldea show most unmistakably the origin of this useful implement. The first sickle was the lower jaw of the sheep or ox, most probably the former, on account of the lightness, and with this the process was much improved. It was, however, too expensive a process to kill a sheep for each pair of reapers, so in due course a wooden model of the lower jaw was made, into which the flint teeth were inserted exactly in the same manner as those in the natural jaw.

It is to be noticed, on comparing the two in this plate, how closely the natural model has been followed, even to the larger flints corresponding to the back teeth, and the cutting power being from the larger end. The modelling of the haft follows most closely the form of the termination of the jaw-bone. Most of the early agricultural implements were very primitive in their origin. The plough is called "the scratching wood," while the ideogram for "to dig" is but a development of the hoe, and represents a stone celt tied on to a stick.

When we come to the earliest agricultural records of Babylonia we find a considerable advance. The earliest inscription relating to farming is the obelisk of

King Maništū-su of Kish. This interesting monument, which has been often referred to, is a kind of landmark of the royal estates, on which the details of area and price are inscribed. I have dealt with some of the



(1) WOODEN SICKLE (EGYPT). (2) SHEEP'S JAW-BONE.

most important features of this inscription already, but others, which deal with the management of estates, may now be considered. The first point to be noticed is the careful measurement of the land, and the calculation of the area, and the value by the corn tariff. The land is

calculated by the *gan*, a word which is explained by *padanu*, the Arabic feddan, an acre and a ninth; while corn is measured by the *gur*, the Hebrew *kor*, or eight bushels. Now, the degree of exactness exhibited in these calculations shows that the system must have been long in use. Not only was the estate carefully measured, but the boundaries were marked and recorded. Thus for one estate we read (col. 6, lines 5-15)—

“Bounded on the north by the sons of Kutus, on the south by the hill of Gunizi, on the east by (the land of) Mesalim, son of the King, and on the west by the town of Bar-ki (Barsip?), in the district of Baraz-edin, of the town of Kish.”

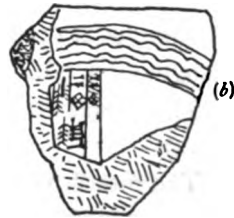
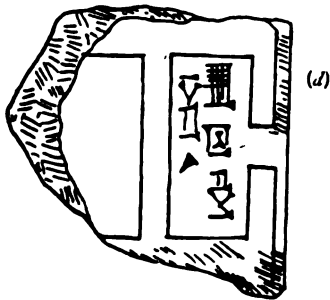
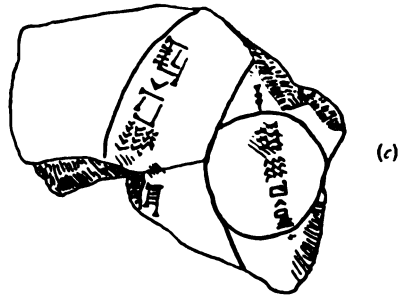
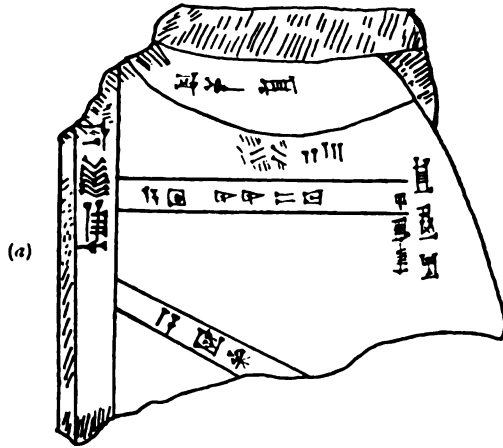
Another estimate is given (col. 13, lines 15-25)—

“Bounded on the north by the canal Zi-kalama (“life of the world”), on the south by Bit Gisimanu, on the east by the canal Amastiak, on the west by the land of Amal-isdugal.”

In the face of such accuracy, it is not surprising to find that the land surveyor was an important official. And the name he bore was Gan-gid-da (𒄠 𒄠 𒄠), “the field measurer,” or rather, literally, the “man who measures with a cord.”\* The interesting evidence of this inscription is confirmed by the discovery of a most interesting series of plans of estates, certainly the oldest examples in the world, as they date from the reign of Sargon (B.C. 3800). These tablets, unfortunately much broken, were discovered by M. de Sarzec at Tello, and have been recently published by M. Thureau Dangin.

The first of these (a) represents a small estate, which is called the field of Zida, the chief (*un gal*), through which run two canals—one the central, called the canal *Ili-tabsi*;

\* Compare the Hebrew and Arabic  $\text{לָקַח}$ , a measuring-line.



SURVEYS OF ESTATES, B.C. 3800.

the other, the name is lost. The land adjoins on the left the field of Ezir. On the obverse is the endorsement presented by Ili-gamil the scribe. The next fragment is interesting for the careful way (*b*) in which the scribe has denoted the river, and at the bottom are the words "the corn-field." In another fragment (*c*) we appear to have a pond denoted, which measured "seven and a third sar." Not only were these Babylonian surveyors able to draw accurate plans of estates, but even of houses as well (*d*). There are several very elaborate plans of a later date, especially one of several fields of the age of Gudea, now in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople. The Greco-Chaldean historian tells us that the fish-god Oannes taught men the "rules for the boundaries of land and the mode of building cities and temples," and of the antiquity of this scientific knowledge in Babylonia the monuments afford ample proof.

Another valuable piece of evidence as to the antiquity of agriculture in Babylonia is furnished by the names of the months, which we find in the oldest calendar—that in use for legal and commercial documents in the time of Sargon I. (B.C. 3800); and in a slightly modified form a thousand years later, in the reign of Gudea (B.C. 2800).

The names are proof that we have to deal with a famous almanac.

1. The month when the corn raises its head (Spring Equinox).
2. The month when the fields are bright.
3. The month when the cattle are in the fields
4. The month of the god Nesu.
5. The month of sowing.
6. The month when they eat flour (?)

7. The month of Tammuz (the youthful sun-god).
8. The month of the Festival of Dungi.
9. The month of the goddess Bau (goddess of fertility).
10. *Obscure.*
11. *Obscure.*
12. Month of corn-cutting.

This agricultural character continued to the last, but it became obscured by religious influence; but such names as "the months of sowing, corn-cutting, opening of dams, copious fertility, or the fulness of the year," still maintain the old character. To cultivate the land was an imperative duty, not only to man himself, or to his master, but to the State and religion; for it was the cultivation of the land that produced the revenue of the State, and the wealth of the temples, and provided the offerings of the temples. There therefore grew up in Babylonia at a very early period—certainly prior to B.C. 3800—a most elaborate and perfect fiscal or revenue control, by which the wealth of the country could be estimated to the most minute extent. No such system existed in any ancient country; perhaps it was most nearly approached by the administration of Egypt in the time of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty, under the priests of Amen. The revenue returns were supplied by the temples, for the temple was the treasury and revenue office of the district; and until the consolidation of the empire, and the centralization of the administration in Babylon about B.C. 2300, each district had its own revenue returns.

For the purposes of ascertaining the wealth of the country an accurate survey and census of the country was necessary, and, astonishing as it may seem, this was perfected at a very early period in Babylonia, and by B.C. 2500 we find it in a most finished condition.

Our knowledge of this ancient Revenue Board is derived from a wonderful series of some thirty thousand tablets found at Tello or Sirpurra, and dated in the reigns of the kings of the second dynasty of Ur, who reigned from B.C. 2500-2300. The tablets were found in two long galleries, and had been arranged on shelves, which had decayed, so the tablets had fallen, but remained heaped up in layers five or six deep. Of the great collection, numbering many thousands, the British Museum has secured the major portion, which are now exhibited in the new Babylonian room. There are also collections in the Louvre, the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, and in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. This latter museum possesses also a collection of similar tablets for Nippur. The tablets refer to the administration of temple property, to agriculture, stock raising (especially the returns of the temple herds), the produce of farms and gardens in the district.

First in order come a series of bun-shaped tablets, many of which, having been stored in jars, are in most astonishing preservation, looking as fresh as if they had only just come from the kiln. These tablets are the returns of a cadastral survey of the district. The one here given is the survey of an estate of seven fields. Each field has been carefully measured and the area calculated, the nature of the crop and the estimated value given. Where land is fallow, or of an inferior quality, its condition is stated. On the reverse is a calculation of the amount at which the estate is assessed, and the rent which is paid for it. The inscriptions are of too technical a character to be of interest to the general reader, but it is important to state that where the calculations have been worked out, as some have by Dr. Oppert and M. Danguin, their accuracy is most astonishing.



CADASTRAL SURVEY OF AN ESTATE.









These documents record a survey which appears to have been made at intervals of about six or seven years. From these were compiled the larger tablets, which contain the revenue returns of the different districts. Some of these are wonderful specimens of clay documents, the finest measuring 18 inches by 10½, and containing sixteen columns of writing.

The translation of the first column will be sufficient to show the method of entering these accounts.

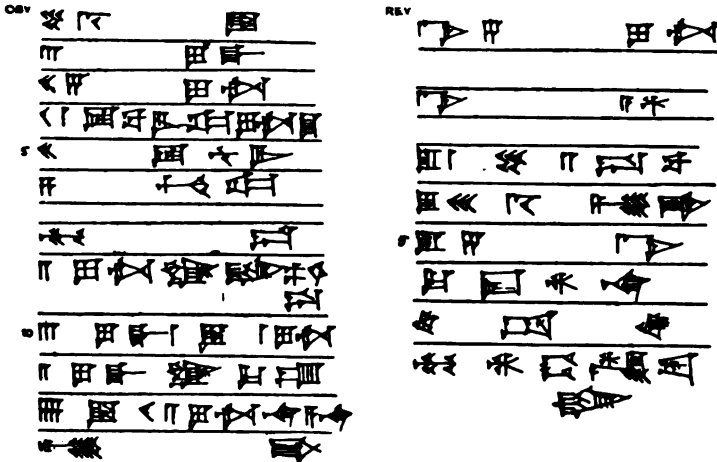
Col. 1.

$(60 \times 2) + (60 \times 3) + 30 = 1410$ gur of corn, royal standard.	
The field of Aballa.	
$(60 \times 3) + (60 \times 2) + 42\frac{2}{5} = 1962\frac{2}{5}$ gur.	Totals.
On the bank of the old canal.	1410
$(60 \times 8) + 50 + \frac{2}{5} = 530\frac{2}{5}$ gur.	1962 $\frac{2}{5}$
The field of Dungi-zi-kalama.	530 $\frac{2}{5}$
$(60 \times 9) + 40 = 580$ gur.	580
The plantation (?) of Bazi-gilla.	316 $\frac{1}{2}$
$(60 \times 5) + 16 + \frac{1}{2} = 316\frac{1}{2}$ gur.	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>
The field of Dumzi.	4799
Making in all $3600 + (600 \times 2) = 4800 - 1 = 4799$ gur.	

This is astonishing mathematics for nearly five thousand years ago. The corn in the second column appears to be measured in boats, and we are told that is the corn which Ur Nina collected for the house of Nin Sugir, the document being dated in the year of "Bur Sin the king" (B.C. 2500).

As to the way in which the cattle census was taken, the following tablet affords a good example. It is the inventory of stock in the charge of a certain Amil-Bit-Ana (man of the house of Heaven).

18436.



## INVENTORY OF CATTLE.

*Translation.*

- (50-1) 49 Ewes.  
 3 Great Sheep.  
 25 Rams.  
 11 Weaned lambs.  
 20 not weaned do.  
 4 Goats.  
 (112) Presented.

## Deductions.

- 3 Great Sheep, 1 Ewe, 1 Ram.  
 2 Great Sheep for scribe  
 as wages.  
 Less 5 Rams (killed for food possibly).  
 Account (30 - 1) = 29 for wages  
 Expended 5.

The account of Amil-E-Anna (man of the house of  
 Heaven), in the city of Nina (a quarter of Sirpurra).

The year of Bur Sin the king.

In the same way careful inventories of asses and oxen  
 were drawn up, and, in fact, every animal in the country  
 must have been registered in the tax-collector's books, and

the owner had to account for their not being presented for the census. Some points of interest are brought out by these tablets. First we notice that wages of the shepherds were paid in kind, a custom which explains the payment of Jacob in the same manner by Laban (Gen. xxxi.); but in the earlier time of Khammurabi shepherds appear to have received a wage calculated on a corn tariff of 8 *gur* (64 bushels) per annum.



BABYLONIAN CATTLE.

From these revenue chambers come other tablets, showing that butter, honey, milk, wool, and even vegetables, were carefully\* inventoried by the scribes, wool being priced by the talent. One very important point to be noticed is that, although we have several thousands of these tablets, we have no mention either of the horse or the camel in any of them. The horse was essentially the animal of war, and is called frequently by the epithet "the horse glorious in war," and neither in Babylonian nor Assyrian records have we a representation of a horse used for labour. The ox and the ass were the beasts of burden

\* In the possession of Miss E. Paget, Manchester, is a tablet, giving receipt for eggs, pigeons, flowers, and honey sent to the temple.

and draught. The camel does not appear until the twelfth century, yet we know how largely the camel figures in the history of the Hebrew patriarchs.\*

Farming in Babylonia was no amateur occupation, but carried out by a prescribed code of rules of great antiquity. Fragments of this Farmers' Year-book have been preserved to us, and are now in the British Museum.† I have selected some of them; the broken state of the tablets and the obscurity of some of the Sumerian terms render a complete translation impossible.

“ In the sixth month (Ellul) of the year, the farmer establishes his tenancy.  
He agrees upon his bond.  
He completes his bond.  
When the time of working comes, he ploughs, rakes, and divides it.  
For every sixty measures of grain the farmer takes eight.”

Farming was usually an affair of partnership between the ground landlord (*bel ekli*) and the farmer, and the proportions were usually half, third, or quarter shares. This subdivision of the land is regulated by the code of Khammurabi (clause 46), where we read, “ If he has not recovered the produce of his field, either for one-half or one-third, the corn that is in the field the farmer and the landlord shall share according to the terms of their bond.” The rules as to a half-share partnership are preserved in the year-book.

“ If a farmer takes for a half-partnership with the

\* The camel probably entered the Euphrates valley from the north-east, originally from the slopes of Central Asia, and possibly was known in Aram-Naharaim, in the neighbourhood of Kharan, before it was introduced into Babylonia.

† Translated by G. Bertin in “ Records of the Past,” New Series, vol. iii. pp. 79, *et seq.*

landlord, everything is equal—man as man, house as house, seed as seed.”

“When harvest-time comes, the master sends from his place an ox for threshing the corn, and the corn of the field he takes.”

We fortunately possess several of these deeds of partnership, and they confirm these rules; thus—

“Four feddan a field within the field of the sun-god, the field Arad-ulmas-sittum, son of Taribum, from Arad-ulmas-sittum, the master of the field, Arad-ulmas and Anul-adad, sons of Usatim, this field for cultivation on rent for one year have hired; one with the other an agreement has established. In the day of harvest they shall reap as right and left (equally) the corn, the rent of the field they shall pay, the agreement they shall close, the property jointly they shall possess.

“(Date) 22nd day, month Sukul (June and July), year of Ammiditana the king.”

Another example—

“13 feddan a fallow field, the field of Ili-baim (?), the shepherd, son of Ilu-baili (?), the land of Ili-baim, the shepherd, the landlord, Ili-ikisam . . . for cultivation on rental for one year has hired. On the day of harvest all that there is they shall harvest, for each ten feddan six gur (48 bushels) of corn to the store of the sun-god, as rent, he pays; on account of the rent of his field two shekels of silver is received.

“Dated month Tisri (?), 20th day of the year of Ammi-zadugga the king.”

The freedom granted to women in Babylonia allowed them to hold and manage their own estates, and this was especially the case with priestesses of the temples, who traded extensively.



The opening is obscure.

"From Akhatani, priestess of Šamaš, daughter of Šamaš-khazir Agir-Adad, son of Libit-Nerra, for one year has hired; the rent for each year three and a half shekels of silver he shall pay . . . on the 4th day of the month Isin Adad \* he enters into possession, on the month Simitun \* he quits it."

The "day of harvest" was the settling day of the year; rent, taxes, everything of the nature of credit, had to be paid at the time of harvest, which usually commenced about April or May in Babylonia. Interesting proof of this is afforded by the loan tablets of the age of Khammurabi in the British Museum.

"5½ shekels of silver until the gathering of harvest, a loan according to his tablet . . . which Arad-Sin from Apil-ili-šu, son of Khainiddina, and Akhazunu his wife, received. In the day of harvest, in the month Šadutuini, a receipt he takes, the corn they pay."

Sometimes the loan was made from the temple or communal store, which advanced seed-corn to the farmer; a fine example is in the Berlin Museum.

"300 ka of seed from the storehouse of the sun-god until the harvest, which from Iltani, the priestess of the sun-god, the daughter of the king (*marat sarri*) Šeritum, son of Ibni-Martu, has received. In the time of harvest, in the month of corn-cutting (Adar?), he shall bring it; if he brings it not, it will be (to him) as the yoke of the king."

The yoke of the king was the Babylonian form of penal servitude.

It will be at once apparent how completely these deeds

\* These month-names belong to an old calendar, and cannot be identified with certainty.

confirm the clauses in the code of Khammurabi relating to farming. The Babylonian system of farming appears to have been of three kinds: (1) the partnership; (2) land hired and rent paid in kind; (3) the land entrusted to farmers to cultivate, the landlord finding seed, implements, etc., and paying the farmer a wage and an allowance from the produce. Labour seems to have been plentiful, being partly found by slaves and serfs dwelling on the land, and by labourers. As we know from the code (sec. 273), the hired labourer was paid "from the beginning of the year to the fifth month six *se* of silver per day, from the sixth month to the end of the year five *se*." The *se* was  $\frac{1}{360}$  part of a shekel; but in addition to this pay the landlord had to find the workman in food, and apparently also some articles of clothes, such as a loin-cloth. The long inscription of Maništu-su, although in parts very obscure, affords very interesting light. When the king purchased the estates near Kiš, he made a kind of covenant with tenants and the workmen on the estate. We read (col. 19, 15-30), "In all, thirty-two slaves of Marad, dwellers on the land, and six hundred slaves in Gazani, with food he shall nourish." In addition to this, the tenants appear to have each had "a robe of favour" (KU SU SE-GA = *subat magari*) given them. Probably, as at the present day, any transaction of importance in the East is accompanied by a present of clothes, especially when one of the parties is of high rank. The workmen appear to have received a "loin-cloth," called KU SU UL A-PAL ("the robe of the irrigator"). If this was the system in B.C. 4500, it probably continued until later times. We must remember that living in Babylonia was cheap, and, as this was so, the actual payments for labour, though they seem to us low, were really ample.

We possess some of the original contracts for labour which give the rate—

“Adad Šarru, the son of Ibni Šamaš, has from Babul Šamaš his brother, Adad-iduma, the son of Sin-rimeni, hired for one year. For his hire six shekels of silver he shall receive, and at the commencement one shekel of silver.”

“Mar-Sippar has from Manawartum his mother, Marduk-nazir, the son of Allabanu, for one year hired. All the loan for the year is two and a half shekels for the year, half a shekel 18 *se* he receives.”

Here the payment is made to the owner of the hired man, but a small payment was also given to himself. In some cases the hiring was from the man himself; as—

“Naram-ibi-šu by name has from himself Idin-ittu for six months hired. All the hire for six months is two shekels of silver (which) he receives.”

The man who hired a servant was responsible for his keep to his master, and for any loss or injury to him, for in a tablet of domestic laws we read—

“If a man a workman has hired and he has died, or has been stolen, or has fled, or has become sick, his hand for each day shall measure one half a measure of corn.”

The land laws which we find in the code of Khammurabi (B.C. 2258) are evidently those which have been in use for a long time, and present a close resemblance to those of Mohammedan India. Thus in Babylonia fallow land paid nothing for three years, and in the fourth it paid at the rate of one *gur* (8 bushels) per feddan. In India nothing was paid in the first year, a little in the second and third, and in the fourth year the fixed rent commenced

(XLIV.). As in Babylonian, so in Mohammedan law, where there is a mortgage on land or crops (XLVIII.) the landlord has primary claim. One of the most interesting features of this code also is the fact that a stranger could hold land (XL.). This would seem to be the clause which enabled Abram to acquire and hold the field in which the cave of Machpelah was situated (Gen. xxiii.). Indeed, the whole of this transaction of the purchase from Ephron the Hittite has a remarkable Babylonian stamp. The patriarch declares himself "a stranger and a sojourner in the land" (ver. 4). Notice the use, too, of the common Babylonian term "the full price," found in all contracts, and the transaction being carried out "in the gate of the city" (ver. 11), while the mention of the delimitations of the property resembles those occurring in the contracts of the age of Khammurabi.

The land laws of Babylonia became those of Western Asia generally, as the commercial laws had also. The Hebrews probably found the same laws in force in Canaan when they occupied the land, and they form the basis of the rules of land tenure and agriculture in force among the fellahin of Palestine at the present time. In the main, land was held in Babylonia to be crown property, and, as the numerous land grants show, the king had very arbitrary powers in giving estates to those whom he wished to reward, or in depriving those who offended him. There was, however, another system by which the land was the property of the local god, and bound to support his house and household; hence the elaborate system of revenue returns attached to the temples, such as those of Bel at Nippur, and Nin-Sugir at Sirpurra or Lagash. Vast estates were attached to the temples as glebe, or *wakif*, and the management of them was productive of great

wealth to these sacred edifices. The stores of corn, dates, wool, and other commodities in the *suttum*, or storehouse, of the temple, enabled the priests and priestesses to do an extensive trade, and to enrich themselves as well as the temple.

One of the most remarkable features of Babylonian life was the land right granted to women, and especially to priestesses, a body most rigidly secluded under other systems. We find them owning houses and land, and trading freely in them. They were extensive money-lenders. We also find them as litigants in the law courts, and adopting children.

The fiscal system of Babylonia embodied two taxes, known to us from Hebrew legislation as the dues of "first-fruits and tithes;" but we have no trace of the year of Jubilee, which seems to follow upon the Sabbatical system of the priestly code.

In conclusion, we may say that the land and agricultural system of Babylonia was organized at a very early period, certainly prior to B.C. 3800, and underwent but little modification in later times. It, moreover, seems to have been introduced into Syria and Palestine at an early period, when, after the conquest of Canaan, the Hebrews adopted it. The system approaches most closely to that of the Mohammedan rulers of India, and it may be possible that it was from the remains of the system which survived until after the Christian era in Babylonia that the receptive Mohammedans borrowed. So perfect a system could not have passed unnoticed. The hordes of Islam, when they conquered Iraq Arabi, still a land of vast fertility, in A.D. 642 had no land law of their own. To adopt the existing laws would be most natural. From Bagdad the law spread to India. The old law of Mesopotamia of

the days of Khammurabi is still the basis of the law of the Arabs of the valley, as it is also of the fellahin of Palestine and Syria,\* and, indeed, all Moslem land.

\* On this, see a valuable paper by the Rev. J. Neil, M.A., on "Land Tenure in Palestine in Ancient Times," in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, vol. xxiv.



- 1, 2. CLAY MODELS OF AXE AND SICKLE FROM ERIDU.  
 3. PICTORIAL BABYLONIAN SIGN "TO DIG."  
 4. EGYPTIAN MATTOCK.      5. CORN RUBBER (SYRIA).

## CHAPTER VI

### “KHAMMURABI THE GREAT”

**T**HE rescue of the name and fame of Khammurabi, the great ruler and lawgiver of Chaldea, from the oblivion of centuries, is, indeed, one of the greatest triumphs of archæological research. No cycle of myths had grown around his name preserving to subsequent generations his traditional greatness as the “father of law,” as the name of Minos had been preserved in Greek tradition. A few years ago some few contracts dated in his reign, and some interesting votive inscriptions, were all that remained to record his existence. Now the historian of his epoch-making reign is as well equipped as the modern biographer of a monarch of the Middle Ages. Historical epitomes of his reign, thousands of dated legal and commercial documents, a concise canon of the chief events of his time, and lastly his own private letters, are now accessible to us.

The Babylonians, great literati as they were, had not the faculty for writing long historical inscriptions. In this respect they differed from the Assyrians, whose chronicles are now well known to us, but which often, when tested by contemporary records, are not found to be as accurate as we should expect. To the historian of the ancient East, the brief but accurate canon inscriptions, or the summaries, such as preface the code

inscription, are far more important and dependable than the grandiose records of the Assyrians.

The summary of the events in the early part of the reign of Khammurabi, and of those which immediately preceded it, which is found in the opening lines of the code text, is of great value.



PORTRAIT, KHAMMURABI (BRITISH MUSEUM).

#### TRANSLATION.

I. When the supreme god, the king of the Anunaki Bel, the lord of heaven and earth, who decreed the fates of men, assigned to Merodach, the first-born son of Ea, the divine lord of righteousness, the host of mankind entrusted to him, and exalted him among the Igigi.



II. They called Babylon by its illustrious name, and made it great among the four quarters of the earth, and founded within it an everlasting dynasty, which, like unto heaven and earth, its throne is founded.

III. Then in that day, I (myself), Khammurabi, the noble prince who feared my God, justice in the land for witness, plaintiff, and defendant, to destroy the tyrant, and not to oppress the weak, like the sun-god to blackheads, I promulgated, enlightening the land, the god, and Bel to the seed of men, for well being proclaimed my name.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF BEL.

IV. Khammurabi, the prince called by Bel, am I, the one who perfects abundance and plenty, enriching with all things Nippur and Dur-an-(ki), the glorious provider of E. Kur (temple of Bel).\*

V. The hero king who restored to Eridu its shrine, who purified the channel of E. Apsu.†

VI. Who made battle on the four quarters of the world, exalting the renown of Babylon, and making glad the heart of Merodach its lord, who each day presents (himself) in E. Saggil.‡

\* Mountain House.

† House of the Deep.

‡ House of the Lofty Head.

VII. The royal scion whom Sin has created, who enriched Ur, the humble, the reverent, who pours out wealth to E. Ser-gal.\*

VIII. The reverent king, attentive to Samas, the mighty one who laid (the foundation) of Sippara, who clothed with verdure the grave of the goddess Ai (the bride), who decorated E. Babbar, which is the abode of heaven.

IX. The avenging warrior of Larsa, who restored E. Babbar † for Samas, his helper.

X. The life-giving lord of Erech, who established waters of fertility for its inhabitants, who exalted the summit of E. Anna, ‡ making perfect the beauty of Anu and Nana.

XI. The divine protector of the land, who gathered together the scattered people of Isin, who heaped up abundance in E. Gal Makh.§

XII. The dragon of the capital, own brother of Zamana, who firmly established the dwellings of Kish, who wrapped in splendour E. Me-te-ursag, ¶ and redoubled the great treasures of Nini (Istar).

XIII. The guardian of Kharsag Kalama, ¶ the grave of the enemy, whose help brought about victory.

XIV. Who increased the wealth of Kutha and for E. Sillam,\*\* the mighty bull who gored the foe.

XV. The beloved of Tutu, who made glad Borsippa the glorious (city), the unwearying one toward Ezida. †† The divine king of the capital.

\* House of the Great Light.

† House of Light.

‡ House of Heaven.

§ The Noble Palace.

¶ House of the Warrior's Adornments.

¶ House of the Mountain of the World.

\*\* House of the Shade.

†† The Established House.

XVI. The wise and intelligent one, who made wide the pasture-lands of Dilbat, who heaped up the granaries of Urus.

XVII. The strong, the lord of insignia, sceptre, and crown, with which he clothes himself, the chosen one of Mama, who established the ceremonies of Kesh, who made rich the holy feasts of Nin-Tu.

XVIII. The prudent, the beneficent, who provides pasture and watering-places for Sirpurra and Sugir, who provided great free-will offerings for the temple of Ningorsu. He who captures the enemy.

XIX. He who fulfils the oracles of Khallabi, who made glad the heart of Anunit. The noble prince, the lofty of whose hand (prayer) is accepted by Adad, who pacified the heart of Adad, the warrior of Karkar.

XX. Who caused to be replaced the adornments of E. Ud-gal-gal.\* The king who gave life to the city of Adab.

XXI. The director of E. Makh,† the hero of the capital, the warrior without rival, who dowered with life the city of Maskan-sabri, who gave abundance to E. Sit-lam.

XXII. The wise, the capturer, who all the robbers has taken, and delivered the inhabitants of Malka from destruction, and made firm their home among plenty.

XXIII. Who for Ea and Damkina, who magnified his rule, for all time, appointed pure sacrifices, who subjected the villages on the Euphrates to Dagan his creator, and who benefited the inhabitants of Mera and Tutul.

The glorious prince who makes bright the face of Nini (Istar), who establishes holy meals for Nin-Asu,

\* House of Bright day.

† The Noble House.

who cared for the inhabitants in their affliction, and appointed them a portion within Babylon in peace.

XXIV. The shepherd of mankind, whose deeds are good before Anunit in E. Ulbar, within Agade the noble.

XXV. The settler of the tribes, who rules the land, who restored to the city of Assur its propitious clossus (winged bull), who made bright the flame. The king who in Nineveh in E. Dup Dup, and made bright the emblems of Istar.

XXVI. The noble one, who humbles himself to the great gods. The descendant of Sumu-la-ilu, the mighty son of Sin-muballit, the everlasting offspring of majesty, the mighty king, the sun-god of Babylon, who sent far light upon the land of Sumir and Akhad, the king obeyed in all four quarters of the earth, the favourite of Istar. I am that one.

The importance of this inscription cannot be too highly estimated, as it contains records of both religious and political events in Babylonia. The opening paragraphs afford us a most important light upon the movement which led to the elevation of Babylon to the position of both a religious and political capital, and to a rank which it maintained for thousands of years.

It is evident that the exaltation of Babylon to be above all other cities was a move to obtain a special city for the new dynasty. Although, as we have already seen, Babylon had existed from Sargonide age (B.C. 3800), being mentioned on one of the dated contracts of the period, when we read, "The year when Sargon made the platform of the temple of Anunit, and the platform of the temple Ai in Babylon, and Sarlak, King of Gutium, he spoiled," it had furnished no line of kings until

the rise of this dynasty of Arab rulers. Hitherto Ur and Erech, or, earlier still, Agade, and in the primitive times Kish, had been the seats of government. The chief religious centres had been Nippur, with its temple of Mullil, or Old Bel, in the north, and Eridu in the south, where the important god Ea was worshipped. We now see a new and important change. Mullil, or the Bel of Nippur, hands his authority over to Merodach, the first-born son of Ea. This passage is most valuable, as we find this same transference very strongly emphasized in the creation legends, which began to take literary form during this period.

In the seventh tablet, a work probably older than the main body of the Epic, we read this: the "Lord of the World, Father Bel, has proclaimed his (Merodach's) name; this title, which the spirits of heaven repeated, did Ea hear, and his heart rejoiced, and he said, He, whose name his fathers have made glorious, shall be even as I, and the codification of my decrees he shall control, all my laws he shall make known." Here, then, we see how the power of these two older gods was transferred to the local god of Babylon, Merodach, a god of whom we have heard very little until now. For the Merodach of the Magical Litanies of Eridu, known by the old Sumerian name of Asari-mulu-dugga—Asari, the good being, the exact equivalent of the Egyptian "Osiris," *un nefer*, "the good being"—is very different from the national god of Babylon. This sonship, however, which exists between Ea of Eridu and Merodach, may imply that this later city was an offshoot from the old religious centre on the Persian Gulf.

In the old Sumerian creation legend\* this, indeed,

\* King, "Creation Tablets," p. 129.

seems to be implied, for this text has undergone very considerable editing in later times. Here we read—

"All lands were sea.  
At that time there was a movement within the sea,  
Then Eridu was made, E. Sagil was built—  
E. Sagil, where in the midst of the Deep the god Lugal-dul  
Azaga dwelleth."

Immediately after this the editor introduces the words, "The city of Babylon was built, E. Sagil was finished," as if to place the new E. Sagil on a footing with the old one, the "house of the deep." We find Khammurabi referring to this ancient shrine directly after the mountain house (*ekur*) of Bel of Nippur, "the hero king who restored to Eridu its shrine, who purified the channel of the ocean" (par. v.). It is very important to notice the order of the cities in this portion of the inscription: we have Nippur, Eridu, Babylon, apparently an intentional sequence. Having affiliated the new capital with the oldest religious seats, he next proclaims its divine appointment to be the seat of his royal line. "They (the gods) called Babylon by its illustrious name, and made it great among the four quarters of the earth, and founded within it an everlasting dynasty, which like unto heaven or earth its throne is founded."

It was the same religious movement which has occurred among all the great nations of antiquity. In Egypt when the local Theban god Amen became Amen Ra ("king of all the gods"); among the Hebrews when Yaveh became the one supreme god, and the Hebrews his chosen people, Jerusalem his city. From this time on Merodach became more, and not only the "supreme god, king of the gods of heaven and earth;" but gradually all the minor deities became absorbed in his person and godhead, and a stage of national monotheism was reached.

This movement culminated in the mad attempt of Nabonidus to formally indicate this supremacy by breaking up the local schools of religious teaching, and moving the gods and their palladia to Babylon, in B.C. 539, an action which contributed more than anything else to prejudice the Babylonians in favour of the Catholic-minded Cyrus. In the light of this wonderful record of the real foundation of the Babylonian Empire, it is most curious to look some seventeen centuries ahead and note the words in the cylinder of Cyrus, which form the death sentence of this "First of Empires": "The gods of Sumir and Akkad, who, to the rage of the lord of the gods, Merodach had caused to enter within Suanna (Babylon), by the command of Merodach the great lord, in peace in their dwellings I caused to dwell in the abodes pleasing to the heart. All the gods whom I caused to enter into their towns, each day in the presence of Bel and Nebo, for the prolongation of my days may they ask, and may they call to mind my favourable decree, and may they speak to Merodach my lord, for Cyrus thy worshipper, and Cambyses his son."

To return now to Khammurabi's text. It is to be noticed that it is in the main a peaceful document. We have only one direct reference to military affairs; this, however, is important, as (pars. xi.-xiii.) it manifestly refers to some great battle which took place near to Isin and Kish, old local strongholds, which had given the new dynasty considerable trouble. In this respect this document agrees with the too fragmentary chronicle of this king published by Mr. King, for it is not until the thirtieth year of the king's reign that there is any mention of war, and it is there an expedition against Emutbalim, or Elam. Both these events, the taking of Kish and the fall of Isin,

we considered most important events, for the former, which occurred in the thirteenth year of the reign of Sumula-ilu, the grandfather of Khammurabi, affords a date for five years, and the latter, taken in the seventh year of his father, Sin-muballit, was commemorated for thirty years after, so they were regarded as great historic military events. The passage must now be quoted in full—

"The protector of the country, who gathered together the scattered people of Isin, who heaped up abundance in E. Gal-Makh, the dragon of the capital, own brother to Zamama, who founded the abode of Kish, who wrapped in glory E. Me-Te-Ursag, the one who doubled the treasures of Nini, the guardian of Kharsag Kalama, the grave of the enemy who, with his allies, accomplished his desire."

The site of Kish we know to be the mound of El Oheimer, a little south-east of Babylon, a site which exhibits every indication of being of great antiquity.\* The patron deity of Kish was Zamama ("the god of war and battle"), and the name of the temple *Me-Te-Ursag* ("the house of the adornments of the warrior") bears this out. We do not know where Isin or Nisin was, but it must have been between Kish and Erech. Here the temple was that of Kharsag Kalama ("the mountain of the world"), dedicated to Nini, or Istar. There is another passage in the text which seems to associate Khammurabi with this region; and with a great battle taking place there, it is the terrible curse invoked upon the one who injured this stele or violated the laws.

"May Zamama, the great warrior, the firstborn son of E. Kur (the temple of Nippur), who marches on my right hand on the battlefield, break his weapons; may she turn day into night for him, and bring his foes upon him.

\* See pp. 121-2.



“Istar, the lady of wars and battles, who draws forth my weapons, my gracious protecting spirit, who loveth my rule, in her angry heart, in her mighty rage, may she curse his rule, and turn his good fortune to affliction ; on the battlefield may she shatter his weapons, disorder and revolt may she create for him ; may she smite his warriors, and pour out their blood, that the ground may drink it ; the heaps of the dead of his army may she heap up on the field ; may his soldiers find no graves ; may she deliver him into the hands of his enemies and imprison him in the land of his foes.”

Although not historical, this passage seems to associate these two divinities, Zamama and Istar, with some great event either in the reign of Khammurabi or immediately preceding his accession to the throne. Still more important is the grand pean of praise engraved upon the statue of the king, the lower portion of which is now in the British Museum. Indeed, it has very much the appearance of a song of accession, like the hymn to the Egyptian king, Amen-em-hat I.\*

“Bel hath bestowed lordly rank on thee,  
 For whom dost thou wait ?  
 Sin (moon) hath dowered thee with princely power,  
 For whom dost thou wait ?  
 Ninip hath given thee the sword of supremacy,  
 For whom dost thou wait ?  
 Istar hath given to thee the war and battle,  
 For whom dost thou wait ?  
 Samas and Rimmon are thy guardians,  
 For whom dost thou wait ?”

## II.

“Establish thy might  
 In the four quarters of the earth.

---

\* Petrie, “History of Egypt,” vol. i. p. 230.

May thy name be proclaimed.  
 May thy widespread people  
     Address supplication to thee.  
 May they bow down their faces  
     In reverence before thee.  
 Let them celebrate  
     Thy great glory.  
 May they tender obedience  
     Unto thy supremacy.”

Col. IV.

“ He hath established,  
 He hath made glorious to future days  
     The greatness of his power.  
 Khammurabi, the strong warrior,  
     The destroyer of his foes.  
 He is the hurricane of battle,  
     Sweeping the land of his foes.  
 He bringeth opposition to naught,  
     He putteth an end to insurrection.  
 He breaketh the warrior  
     Like an image of clay.”

This beautiful text has every appearance of being a grand song of praise to one who had just accomplished some great feat of arms, such as the overthrow of the Elamites, who had so long oppressed the land.\*

It is now time to see if we can find any trace of this great victory which had so impressed itself on the annals of the period. In this inscription, which I have given at the commencement of the chapter, we have (par. xii.) a short phrase which has every appearance of history. As the value is great, I give the transcribed text in full.

\* As the inscription is bilingual in Semitic Babylonian and Assyrian, it was evidently intended to be read by all the king's subjects.

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## TRANSCRIPTION.

"Ušum-gal šar ali ta-li-im (Ilu) Za-ma-ma Mu-šar-ši-id  
 Šu-ba-at Kis (ki) mu-ta-aš-khi-ir mi-il-im-mi Bit ME-TE-  
 URŠAG Mu-us-te-iš-bi pa-ar-zi ra-bu-u-tim sa (Il) Nini  
 pa-ki-iel bi-tim Khar-sag Kalama E-KISAL na-ki-ri ša  
 nit-ra-ru-šu u-ša-ak-ši-du ni-is-ma-su."

"The dragon of the royal city, the own brother of  
 Zamama, who wrapt in splendour 'the temple of the  
 pomps of war,' who doubled the mighty treasures of  
 Istar. The guardian of 'the temple of the mountain  
 of the world,' the tomb of the enemy, who with his allies  
 brought about his desire."

This passage manifestly refers to a great battle fought  
 in the neighbourhood of the ancient stronghold of Kis,  
 that is, near the mound of El Oheimar, a little south-east  
 of Babylon. It is worthy of note that, in the reign of  
 Sennacherib, a great battle was fought in the same neigh-  
 bourhood, in which the Elamites were defeated, and in  
 many respects this plain is the strategical key of Baby-  
 lonia. It appears to me impossible to relegate this great  
 event to the thirtieth and thirty-first years of the king's  
 reign, but rather to regard it as the event which established

him on the throne. On this point, however, we have some historical evidence of importance. On a tablet (B. 64, No. 33,221) we have a very important date: “The year of Khammurabi, the king, in which, with the help of Bel and Anu, established his good fortune, and cast to the earth the land of Emulbal and Rim Agu, or Sin, the king.” This date seems almost exactly to agree with the expression, “the help of Bel and Anu cast to the earth the land of Emutbal,” being the allies who helped and those who were overthrown. This tablet, it is important to notice, comes from Senkereh, or Larsa, the city of which Sin-idinna, the correspondent of Khammurabi, was governor. A number of these tablets were found as far back as 1854 by Mr. Loftus, and most of them are dated in the reign of Rim Sin, or, as the name may be read, Rim Agu, or Aku (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭); but the syllable *Rim* is an abbreviation of Erim (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭), “servant,” so the name means “servant of the moongod.” The form Eriv-Aku would appear in Hebrew in the form Arioch (אֲרִיֹחַ, Gen. xiv. 1-19). So that there is every reason for identifying this king with the king of Larsa, of which he was ruler, mentioned in Genesis xiv. We have several inscriptions of this ruler, and many tablets dated in his reign. The most important text is one upon a bronze figure exhibited in the British Museum, which



BRONZE FIGURE.

was a votive offering by Eri-aku and his father, the Elamite king Kudur-mabug.

Here we see the king, who is evidently acting as viceroy of his father, claiming rule over Nippur, Ur, and Larsa, and also the general title of Sumir and Akkad. There is no mention of Babylon. Larsa was evidently the seat of his rule. There is now to be noticed the fact that, throughout the whole of the canon of dates for the reigns



CYLINDER OF ERI-AKU (RIM SIN).

preceding the reign of Khammurabi, there is no mention of Larsa, which shows that it was not one of the cities which the early kings of the dynasty ruled, or endowed its temple. Yet we find Khammurabi doing so, and using an important epithet in describing his relation to it. He speaks of himself as "the avenging warrior (*karrad gamil*) of Larsa, the restorer of the house of light, for the sun-god his helper (*rizi su*)." So it was not until the overthrow of the rule of Eri-aku that the kings of Babylon could exercise authority in Larsa. The same applies to the city of Nisin, which seems to have

been under the rule of the Elamites also. For the king calls himself the "divine protector (*ilu zalulu*) of the land, who gathered together the scattered people of Nisin, who heaps up abundance in the house of the noble palace."

The tablets of Rim Sin are many of them dated in the year of the taking of Nisin, thus, the fifth year (B. 47), sixth (B. 50), seventh, eighth, ninth, and up to the twenty-eighth, so the event was one of great importance in the annals of the ruling house of Larsa. In the chronicle we find the seventeenth year dated as the year in which the city of Isin was taken. This date I take to apply to the recapture of the city by Sin-mu-ballit, the father of Khammurabi, and not to the event which gives the era to the tablets of Rim Sin. The fall of Nisin, then, given on these tablets from Larsa, would have taken place early in the reign of Apil Sin. Taking all these data together, it seems evident that there was a great battle fought near Kis and Kharsag Kalama, in which Rim Sin, or Eri-aku, and the King of Elam were defeated, and the power of the Arabian dynasty established, and in this great victory Khammurabi was the leading spirit. If, then, we make Eri-aku, or Rim Sin, the contemporary of Sin-mu-ballit the father, we have a much more reasonable solution of the difficulties in the history of this period, than in relegating the defeat of the Elamites to the latter part of the reign of Khammurabi.

A great deal of ingenious philological energy has been expended on the identification of the allied kings who invaded Palé<sup>st</sup>ine in the age of Abram, and were defeated by him; and the identification of Khammurabi or the variation Ammurabi, with the Amraphel there mentioned, is boldly asserted, so much so that one august

person speaks of him as the "friend of Abram." But of all the attempts which have been put forward, none has really been found sound. In the bilingual list of kings, *Khammurabi* is rendered by *Kimta rapastum*. An *ammu*, or *Khammu*, is regarded as the equivalent of the Hebrew *Am*, and taken to be the name of a divinity—the Moon, according to Hommel. But on the evidence of the great code associated with the name of this ruler, it seems to me the translation in the bilingual list can be much better explained. The word *Khammu*, from the root *Khamamu*, means "law." This is beyond doubt when we look at some examples. There is a passage in the legend where Zu steals the tablets of law and destiny from the god Bel, which reads, "I will seize the tablets of destiny and the laws (*terite*) of all the gods. I will legislate (*akhmum*). . . ." Again we meet with the words *Khamimat gimir parzi*, "the dictator of decrees applied to Istar."\* Both Ammu and Khammu are no doubt cognates, and we find the former used in the code text (Col. IV. 53, 54), "who directs the law, to adjudge decisions (*ammu*)." So that the reading of the name is but a variation or a paraphrase, "the great Decider of Law," and "the law is widespread," where *Kimti* is for *Kinti* ("law"). So, also, this reading supplies us with a concise rendering of the *Ammi sadugga* of the same list, *Kimta Kittim* ("the law is established").†

I now come to the question of the real Amraphel. It cannot be Khammurabi, for in his reign he was overlord of all Chaldea, and appears at no time in alliance with any king of Elam or his viceroy.

In the dynastic tablet published by Pinches (*P.S.B.A.*,

\* King, "Seven Tablets of Creation," p. 225.

† We may compare the use of *Din* in modern Arabic names.

May 6, 1884), we have the name of *Sin-muballit*, the father of Khammurabi, written in a short form, in ideograms, Amar (𒀭), Pal (𒀭), the reading of which is Sin-muballit. Here we have an almost exact equivalent of the Hebrew “Amraphel.” This king, as far as his chronicles are accessible to us, was not so powerful as his great son, and so, possibly, his rule only extended over Sumir, or Shinar, and his name to his Sumerian subjects would be Amraphal, or Amraphel, king of Shinar, or Sumir. In this position he would be contemporary with the Elamite dynasty ruling at Larsa, and with the Elamite overlord, possibly Kudur-lagamar (servant of Lagamar), who, no doubt, also had relations with the people of Kuti, or Guti, that is, Kurdistan (the Goim, or Nations), and such an alliance as is recorded in Genesis xiv. would not only be possible, but highly probable, in his reign.

At present it is impossible to establish any fixed chronology for this period, but some approximate estimate may be formed.

Assurbanipal states that the Elamite king Kudur Nakhunti had carried away the statue of Nana 1635 years before the campaign in B.C. 650-49. Now, if we assume this to be the invasion which established the line of Elamite rulers at Larsa, and also that Assurbanipal was reckoning from the end of that rule, we have a date which agrees with several other authorities. Berossos, the Chaldean historian, who certainly had access to cuneiform records, states that “astronomical observations commenced at Babylon;” they may have been ordered 490 years before the age of Phoroneus, consequently in B.C. 2243, which would fall in the reign of Khammurabi, and his alteration of the calendar and insertion of an intercalary month implies astronomical observations.



According to Stephanos of Byzantium, Babylon was built 1002 years before the date of the siege of Troy, which was in B.C. 1229, according to Hellanikos, that is, in B.C. 2231. Altogether it is not unreasonable, therefore, to place the reign of Khammurabi approximately at B.C. 2285, which would make it last B.C. 2285-2231. The only monumental catch-date is that given by Nabonidus in his cylinder that Burnaburias lived 700 years after Khammurabi, and that Sagasalte Burias, another Kassite ruler, lived 800 years before Nabonidus. If this is the Burnaburias who was the correspondent of Amenophis III. in B.C. 1450, this would give us 2150 B.C., but we must treat this as a round number. Until further data are accessible, we may therefore, on fair grounds, place the reign of Khammurabi B.C. 2285-2231.

This would give us for the dynasty the reigns as follows :—

Šumu-abu	...	...	...	2397 B.C.
Šumu-la-ilu	...	...	...	2382 B.C.
Zabu	...	...	...	2347 B.C.
Apil Sin	...	...	...	2333 B.C.
Sin-muballit	...	...	...	2315 B.C.
Khammurabi	...	...	...	2285 B.C.

Of the Elamite rulers of this period we know the names of four, but their order is not certain. These are Simti-Silkhak and his son Kudur-mabug, and Eriaku, viceroy of Larsa, son of the latter viceroy of Larsa, Kudur Nakhunte, who carried away the image of Nana, or Istar, from Erech ; and we may reasonably include Chedorlaomer, or Kudur Lagamar, in the list, on the authority of Genesis xiv.

We may therefore conclude that at the end of the reign,

and possibly during a partial regency of Khammurabi, the Elamite and his allies were defeated near Kish in a great battle, and the foreign rule came to an end. It is in regard to the spoils of this victory, the captured goddesses of Emutbalim, that Khammurabi writes to Siniddim the famous letters in the British and Constantinople Museums. I give the translations of these important documents.

“Unto Sin-iddinam,—Thus saith Khammurabi, behold, I am now sending unto Kikerili-su the . . . officer and Khammurabi-bani the courier, that they bring hither the goddesses of the country of Emutbalum. Thou shalt cause the goddesses to travel in a processional boat as in a shrine, that they may come to Babylon. The band of women shall follow after them. For the food of the goddesses thou shalt provide sheep, and thou shalt take on board food for the provision of the band of women for the journey, until they reach Babylon. And thou shalt appoint men to draw the rope, and picked soldiers, that they may bring the goddesses to Babylon in safety. Let them not delay, but speedily reach Babylon.”

This letter needs no explanation as to its bearing on the history of the period. In the battle in which Rim-Sin, or Eriaku, and the king of Emutbal had been defeated, the statues of certain Elamite goddesses had been taken. Like the Ark of the Covenant of the Hebrews, they constituted the palladia of the Elamites, and consequently they must be treated with respect due to their divinity. As the Philistines placed the captive Ark in the temple of Dagon (1 Sam. v. 3, *et seq.*), in Ashdod, so Khammurabi desired so important a booty to be sent to Babylon. The

importance of the capture of national or tribal gods is a well-known fact in ancient history. It was for this reason that the Assyrians carried away the gods of a conquered people. Esarhaddon carried away the gods of the Arabs, and when he returned them, wrote his name upon them, so that they might remember him. When Assurbanipal captured Susa in B.C. 650, he brought back the statue of Istar, which had been carried away 1635 years before by Kudur-nan Khunti. From another inscription we know that the statues of Marduk and his consort Zirat-panit had been carried away by the king of Khani-rabat (North Mesopotamia), and were brought back with great ceremony by the Kassite king Aquum, or Agum-ru-rimi, about B.C. 1500.

Khammurabi orders the captured goddesses to be surrounded by their own retinue and provided for like queens. They were to travel in *ma-lali*, that is, "boat-like arks," like the barks (or boats) of the Egyptian gods. And their own band of devotees (*kisreti*) were to accompany them. They were to be provided with food (*kurumat*), for the meals of the divinities were a most important part of the temple ritual. In the great inscription of Khammurabi we find these meals mentioned. Thus we read (Col. III., 30, or par. xvii.), "establishing the ceremonies of the cities of Kes, who restored the holy meals (*makalie*) of the goddess Nin Tu." So also the king provided holy meals for Nin Asu (Col. IV., 35, par. xxiii.). These holy meals, or the daily or nightly meals, provided for the god Bel, are mentioned in the Apocryphal book of Bel and the Dragon. A body of men were told off to draw the tow-ropes, for the boats had to cross Babylonia by the canals which intersected the plain, and so towing would be necessary. The "chosen soldiers" are rather interesting, as we meet with them in the

Bible. The words are *zabam bikhram* ("chosen soldiers"). These are evidently the *bikhlorim*, or "youths," as it is rendered, from whom Joshua was selected (Numb. ix. 28), who formed the entourage of Moses. It must have been, indeed, a stately pageant, this journey of the goddesses, which, four thousand years ago, passed through the canals of Babylonia.

The second letter relating to these goddesses is in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, and is the one in which Professor Schiel and Dr. Pinches \* imagined they had found the name of Kudur-lagamar, or Chedorlaomer. It reads—

"Unto Sin-iddinam,—Thus saith Khammurabi, the goddesses of Emutbalum which were in thy charge, the troops under the command of Inukh-Samar will bring unto thee in safety. When they shall reach thee with the troops thou hast in charge, and the troops thou shalt divert,† the goddesses to their shrines shall they bring in safety."

Both the text and date of this letter are a little difficult to explain. Until we knew more of the reign of this king from the discoveries made by M. de Morgan at Susa, the explanation given by Mr. King seemed perfectly satisfactory.‡

He says, "It is not improbable that, after they had been removed to Babylon, in accordance with Khammurabi's instructions, the Babylonian forces were defeated by the Elamites, and that this misfortune was attributed by

\* Schiel, "Rec. des Trav.," tom. xx. p. 64. Pinches, "Inscriptions and Records referring to Babylonia or Elam," pp. 27-30.

† King reads "destroy the people," but I take *luput-ma* to mean, as in other places, "turn aside," "divert."

‡ "Khammurabi III.," p. 11.

them to the wrath of the goddesses at being taken from their shrines. We may suppose that it was to appease their anger that Khammurabi decided to send them back to their own country."

I am now more inclined to think that at the time this second letter was written Khammurabi was ruling over Emutbal, and, by returning the goddesses, wished to increase his hold on the land.

The code still, no doubt, was carried away as spoil by the Elamite king, Sutrak Nakhunte, about B.C. 1300, with another inscription of this king, on a black granite block, on which is an inscription in Sumerian. This may possibly be a monument of his presence in the country. The text has been somewhat imperfectly published by Schiel ("Textes Elamites Semitiques," tom. i. pp. 84, 85).

Owing to its broken nature, it cannot be clearly translated.

" Khammurabi,  
 the mighty hero,  
 the warrior king (ursag),  
 King of the four quarters of the earth,  
 who hath brought into subjection  
 the favourite of Anu ;  
 proclaimed by command of Bel,  
 whose might  
 the great gods created,  
 and announced his name ;  
 with his royal weapon  
 the enemy his hand defeated ;  
 with his host  
 the foe his sword destroyed.  
 . . . . .  
 the hostile lands . . .  
 the mighty hero . . .  
 . . . . .

This inscription is much in the style of the coronation

hymn already referred to, and may form part of some monument erected by Khammurabi in Elam.

The defeat of the Elamites and the deliverance of the land from their rule established Khammurabi on his throne. How terrible this invasion must have been is shown by many of the expressions used by the king as to the cities he benefited.

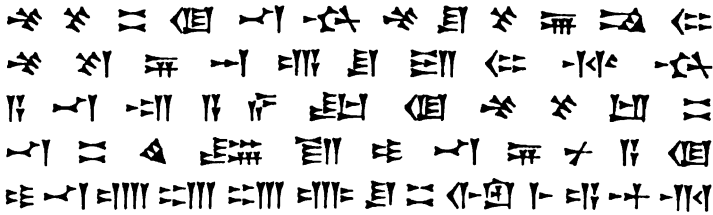
The people of Isin were “scattered, and he gathered them together;” the city of Malga, or Malka, had been pillaged, and the king “captured all their robbers, and delivered them from destruction, and made them a home among plenty.” Of other minor towns he says, “he cared for their inhabitants in their affliction, and gave them a portion within Babylon.”

Perhaps the terrible effect of this invasion is best reflected in a poem which we may ascribe to this period. It relates to the sack of Erech.

“How long, O my Lady, shall the strong enemy hold thy sanctuary?  
There is famine in Erech, thy princely city.  
Blood flows like water in E. Ulbar, the house of thy oracle.  
He has kindled and poured out fire like hailstorms on thy land.  
O my Lady, I am sorely fettered by misfortune.  
My Lady, thou hast surrounded me and brought me to grief;  
The mighty enemy hath smitten me down like a reed.  
I am not wise; with myself I cannot take counsel.  
I mourn day and night like the fields.\*  
I, thy servant, pray to thee;  
Let thy heart be rested and thy mind at ease.”

One other fragment of historical information—alas! too small and fragmentary—must be noticed. It is in paragraph xxv. of the introduction to the Code Text (Col. IV. 55).

\* Possibly a reference to the uncultivated state of the land.



## TRANSCRIPTION.

"Mu-še-bi Ki-na-tim mu-šu-še-ir am-mi mu-te-ir Lam-massu-šu da-mi-ik-tim a-na (Alu) A-u-šar (ki) mu-še-ib-tim ni-bi-khi šarru ša ina Ni-nu-a (ki) i-na Bit DUD DUB u-šu-bi-u šimate (Ilat) Nini (Istar)."

("Who settled the tribes, who directs by law, who restored to the city of Assur its propitious winged bull, making bright with splendour. The king who in Nineveh, in the temple of Dubdub, made splendid the emblems of Istar.")

This fragment is of great historical importance, as it shows that both Assur and Nineveh were in existence in the days of Khammurabi, that is, more than four centuries earlier than any Assyrian record we possess. This passage confirms the brief message in one of the royal letters (No. 1), where we read, "Two hundred and forty men of the king's company under the command of Nannar-iddina, and who are of the force that is in thy hand, and who have left the country of Assur and the district of Situllum." These passages show that as early as B.C. 2250 *circ.* there was a military intercourse between Assyria and Babylonia, and the reference to the restoration of the winged bull would seem to imply its having

been carried away as spoil of war. The earliest viceroys



*Photo, Eyre and Spottiswoode.*

**ASSYRIAN WINGED BULL**

of Assur, whose dates are known, are Ismi Dagan (B.C. 1840), and his son, Samsi-Ramman (B.C. 1820). The



name of 𐎶 𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎢 (pale-si, viceroy), given to the early rulers of Assyria, shows that it was a province or colony under a suzerain, and that overlord we now know to be the ruling king of Babylon. It is to be noticed that we have the archaic spelling of Assur—Au-sar—instead of As-sur, which perhaps may be the old Sumerian form of the name ; if so, it means “the city on the waters’ bank.”

With regard to Nineveh, it is most certainly a Semitized form of the old Sumerian name of Nina, in its usual ideographic form (𐎶𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎢), and shows, as I have said, its origin. Nina, who figures prominently in the oldest pantheon, that of the kings of Sirpurra, or Lagash, was the goddess of the marshes. To her a quarter of the city of Sirpurra was dedicated. She was the daughter of Ea, and as such she was “the goddess of pools and marshes.” That her cult attached itself to Nineveh and its goddess Istar, though the latter had none of the characteristics of the old Sumerian goddess, is shown by the words of the Hebrew prophet Nahum (ii. 8): “Nineveh hath been from old time like a pool of water.” However, it is clearly shown by these valuable passages that Assyria was a colony and a dependency of the ancient mother country of Babylonia, and that its history is more ancient than we had expected.

The great king had a Herculean task before him to repair the terrible destruction of cities, temples, and public works which had resulted from these years of oppression and anarchy. The letters and despatches of this great monarch show the wonderful spirit of energy and faculty for organization he possessed. All social and religious administration was settled in Babylon, and from his letters, now among the most priceless treasures of the British

Museum,\* we can see how he personally superintended all the business of the state. Perhaps the most striking feature of this wonderful correspondence is the accessibility of the monarch to even the most humble of his subjects. The disputes as to corn stolen from a granary (12), or loans of corn (13), rent (14), and disputes with money lenders (21, 46), and the despatch of witnesses (41, 43), were all matters to which he gave personal attention, as well as the higher affairs of state and finance, for he appears to have been very strict in the matter of revenue collection, and brooked no excuse (19, 21); and he was severe upon bribery (8). This is in accordance with the fourth section of the code, which says, "If a man has offered corn or money to a witness, he shall bear the sentence of that case."

It was more to the great public works, the construction or repair of the great navigable and irrigation canals, that the king directed his attention, and the construction of two great works are recorded, the chief being the canal of Khammurabi, "the abundance for men," and another called Tisid Bel. The former was commenced in his eighth year, and the latter in the thirty-third; but his letters show many other public works which he directed.

He also extended the canal from Sippara to the Euphrates, from which the latter had shifted its course. It is curious to note that years after Nabonidus had to again extend the canal to join the receding river.

The inscription recording the Nukhus-nisi canal, which we may identify with the Nahr-malka, or "Royal river," is upon a tablet in the Louvre in Paris, and reads as follows:—

\* These have been excellently published by Mr. L. W. King, M.A., of the Department of Oriental Antiquities of the British Museum, and the numbers here given refer to vol. iii.

“Khammurabi, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, who brought into subjection the four quarters of the world, who accomplished the triumph of Marduk, the pastor who delighted his hearers, I am he.

“When Ilu and Bel gave me the land of Sumir and Akkad to rule, and their authority entrusted to my hands, I dug out the river of Khammurabi (called) the ‘abundance of the people,’ which bringeth abundance to the land of Sumir and Akkad. Both the banks I changed, and to arable land I turned, as a granary for grain I heaped up, and I established perennial waters for the land of Sumir and Akkad.

“For the land of Sumir and Akkad I collected the scattered people thereof, and food and drink I set before them, and in abundance and fertility I set them, and a peaceful place I caused them to abide in. At that time I, Khammurabi, the mighty king, beloved of the great god, by the mighty power which Marduk has given me, built a great tower, with much earth, of which its summit like a mountain reaches on high at the head of the canal of Khammurabi, called the ‘abundance of the people.’ This tower I called the tower ‘Dur Sin-muballi, abinuwalidia.’ Thus did I cause the renown of Sin-muballit the father, my begetter, to dwell in the four quarters of the earth.”

It is difficult to identify this royal canal with any degree of certainty, but it is probably the Yusuffieh canal. The inscription relating to the extension of the Sippara canal is bilingual in Sumerian, and is written upon a two-clay cylinder in the British Museum (12.212.12.216). After the usual opening, we read—

“The summit of the wall of Sippar I have raised with earth like a great mountain; I have encircled it with a

swamp. I have dug a Euphrates \* unto Sippar, and have set up a protecting wall for it. (I am) Khammurabi the founder of the land, whose works are pleasing unto the hearts of Samas and Marduk. I have caused Sippar and Babylon to abide in tranquillity for all time. Khammurabi, the favourite of Samas, the beloved of Marduk, I am he. That which no king among the city kings (*šarri alī*) had done for Samas my lord grandly I executed."

In the opening inscription of the code stele we have, as I have already said, a record of the king's restoration of "the house of light" (*E. Babbar*) in the Southern Heliopolis, or Larsa (par. ix.). In the British Museum (No. 12.219) is a marble votive tablet recording these pious works. Only a phrase need be quoted, as most of it is similar to the opening of the inscriptions given above. "When Samas had entrusted to his hands the authority, then he built for Samas the lord, who is the protector of his life, the house E Babbar, his beloved house which is in Larsa, the city of his rule." Other inscriptions record the restoration of the temple of Nini, or Istar, in Khallab, as recorded in the code text (par. xix.), and E. Zida for Marduk in Borsipha (par. xv.). One little fragment (22.455) is worth notice. It only bears the short inscription, "The palace of Khammurabi," but as it was found at El Oheimar, the ancient Kis, it shows that the king had a royal residence in the oldest of Chaldean cities. The great public works carried out by Khammurabi and other rulers must have required a large amount of labour, and it could only be obtained by the employment of the corvée. This is clearly proved by several of the royal letters which relate to the public works.

\* The use of Euphrates for "river" is interesting. The Kabar canal of Nippur was called the Euphrates of that city.

The employment of the *dullu*, or "corvee," was very systematic in Babylonia. Each district had to find its own corvee for its own public works, but at the same time large corvees were raised for works of national importance. As examples of the local corvee, we may quote a letter to Sin-iddina (No. V.): "The men who on the banks of the Damanum canals hold lands, summon, and let men clear the Damanum canal, within the present month shall they clear the canal." In another letter (No. VI.) the king writes complaining that a navigable canal connecting Erech with the Euphrates is blocked, and that ships cannot go up it, so he orders the work to be commenced at once. "This work," he says, "is not too much for the men with you. When thou shalt see this letter (tablet) with the strength of men which are with you, within three days clear out the canal within Erech. After you have cleared the canal, do then the work regarding which I wrote to you." In another tablet, published by M. Thureau Dangin, the king speaks of a body of men who have been sent south to Sin-iddina to undertake work in two cities—Larsa and Lakhah. The text is very much mutilated, but the king says he is sending 360 workmen, labourers (*sabilute*); "180 (*3sos*) are for the work at Larsa, and 180 for the work at Lakhabi." Interesting light is thrown upon the corvee in Babylonia by the clauses in a land grant of Melisikhu found by M. de Morgan at Susa, dating about B.C. 1300, which contains these words\*—

"On a public work or task, whether for the king or governor who in the province of Pir Bel shall be appointed, shall be supplied, or on any new (corvee) work which a

\* Schiel, "Textes Elamite Semitiques," tom. iv. p. 103. A translation of mine appears in *Asiatic and Imperial Review*, September, 1901.

king or governor in the province of Per Bel is appointed shall carry out and execute, or on any old work which from the hand of time has fallen, and anew he would raise on that work they shall not work." The king, as the state, could commandeer stock or produce for public works ; and here again this inscription is interesting, for we are told that this estate was exempt from levy "for wood, or vegetables, or straw, or corn, or any kind of produce ; or a waggon, or team, or ass, or man, could be commandeered."

A still more explicit exemption is given in the words "In the levies (*dikutu*) taken from the cities of Istar or Agade, they shall not labour either on the corvee of the lock of the royal river (*nar-sarri*) ; to excavate or close the channel of the royal river they shall not be called." These exemptions very well illustrate the nature of corvee work in Babylonia. The men on this work were supplied with provisions from the government or communal stores, but some degree of cruelty appears to have been employed in sending them to work, as there was under the Egyptian corvee, for in one letter (xxxviii.) the king orders them "to be yoked together and placed on ships."

One important feature of this ancient royal correspondence is the absolute promptitude with which the king requires his orders to be carried out ; such as, "Let him arrive here quickly, let him not delay." And often he fixes the time, or even the date, by which he expects the persons or goods to arrive in Babylon ; as, "See that they travel night and day (*muši u urri*), and reach Babylon in two days" (xxxii.).

Little more can be said of this wonderful monarch, who, by his skill and administrative faculty, laid the foundations on a firm basis. In most cases the praises or the very words of an Oriental monarch require to be taken *cum*

*grano salis*, but when we see the wonderful work which this king accomplished, there is much justification for their use. When he says, "I am Khammurabi, who is to his people as the father who bore them, who has caused the words of Marduk to be held in reverence, triumph for Marduk on highland and lowland he has accomplished; who has made glad the heart of Marduk, who prosperity to his people to all time has bequeathed, and proclaimed order in the land," with the material now accessible to us as to the history of the reign of this great king, and the evidence they afford us of his power and greatness, these words do not seem too highly toned. Suffice to say that Khammurabi, the great king, the father of his people, the builder of the Babylonian Empire, the first of law-givers, may justly take his place among the mighty ones of the earth, whose names are emblazoned on the roll of history.

## CHAPTER VII

### “THE CODE OF KHAMMURABI”

**I**N all annals of Oriental research, no more important event has occurred than the discovery of this wonderful code of laws associated with the name of Khammurabi, King of Babylon. To the student of Assyriology it is not so much a surprise, for there have not been wanting many clear indications that from the very earliest times there had existed among the old Sumerian population of Babylonia some set of precedential decisions by which the affairs of men were decided, and also that certain offences, injurious to the individual, the family, or the community, were deemed worthy of divine wrath, and merited punishment at the hands of men. No community could attain to the degree of civilization, which we find to have existed in Babylonia, in the fifth millennium before our era, without having formulated some kind of moral and ethical code. The Greco-Chaldean writer ascribes the original laws to the mysterious fisherman Oannes, whom we may identify with the god Ea of Eridu, and this attribution is borne out by monumental evidence. In the opening lines of this code, Khammurabi speaks of Ea as the divine lord of law (*Ilu bel kitti*), while a very ancient tablet of warnings to kings against doing injustice speaks of the laws of Ea. “The king who obeys not the law, his people revolt, his land perishes. If to the law of his



land he complies not, Ea, the lord of fate, his destiny shall proclaim, and another shall sit in his place."\*

The mention of judges (*daini*) in the most ancient inscriptions shows that some kind of legislation was in force. In the inscription of Maništu-su (B.C. 4500) we have mention of Galzu the Judge, which implies the existence of a law to be administered. In the tablets of the First Sargonide age (B.C. 3800) we meet with the names of judges and scribes, while, by the age of Gudea, we find law courts with numerous officials in existence. In these inscriptions we get for the first time, although we may regard it as comparatively late, a sketch of the organization of Babylonian society. Describing the ceremonies at the laying of the foundation of his temple to Nin Sugur, the patron god of Sirpurra, the king speaks of "judges, doctors, and chiefs who attended in state."† Again, it was a propitious time, as the augurs had ascertained; no burial had taken place, no one had taken his neighbour to the place of oath, no robber had entered the house of another.

[Wherever a community has existed, a certain law must exist, as the result of common sense, and the protection of the common weal.] Even among the most primitive races murder, adultery, lying, and theft would be condemned as dangerous to the common good. Hence there would grow up a system based on personal responsibility, and on the *jus talionis* principle. A life for a life, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, was the natural law of life, and it is found in all communities, however degraded.

Adultery violated the sanctity of the family, and

\* "Select Inscriptions," xv. 50.

† Statue B., Cols. IV. and V.

produced confusion in the important matter of descent, and this was especially the case where the law of matriarchy was enforced, as it certainly was to some extent in Egypt and Chaldea, and among the early Hebrews and Arabs. Lying entailed unjust accusation and punishment on another, and theft naturally entailed punishment. Thus we find in all the ancient codes these violations of communal life condemned.

In a strict sense, the code of Khammurabi is the oldest in the world, a thousand years before the Mosaic law ; but other tables of morality have existed, such as the Negative Confessions in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, and the almost similar table which is found in the Surpu tablets, a series of magical litanies of ancient Babylonia. There is much resemblance between these two tables of morality —perhaps one might suggest an association between them. Both, however, are works which are of priestly origin, or at least have undergone editing at priestly hands, and many of the offences enumerated are religious rather than ethical. This is especially the case in regard to the Negative Confession (B. D., cxxv.), where we can plainly see that the long code with its forty-two clauses is a priestly elaboration of the shorter confession which precedes it. This, again, is but an expanded version of the simple code of brotherly love and neighbourly duty which we find upon the funeral stele, and which, no doubt, was the code of Egyptian society.

How often in these steles we read the words, “I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked. I was open of hand to all men and women. I was devoted to my father, loving to my mother, kind in heart to my brothers, united in heart to my fellow-townsmen.” Here is purity of life, almost equal to the Christian

standard. In the more specific confession, which is the older document in the Book of the Dead (ch.-cxxxv.), we find a code which is required by a more advanced community, and which is religious as well as ethical, and it presents many affinities to the ethical litany of the Surpu tablets and to the code of Khammurabi. This similarity is to be expected from the similarity of environment in which the Egyptians and Chaldeans lived.

As in this work I am dealing chiefly with Chaldean matter, and only using the records of Egypt for comparative purposes, I will take the Babylonian code as the basis of study.

## BABYLONIAN.

He has not estranged son or father, mother or daughter, etc.

He has not offended a god or held a goddess in light esteem.

Is his sin against his own god or his own goddess?

He has not done violence to one older than himself.

He has not caused hatred against an elder brother.

He has not been generous in small things, though mean in great things.

He hath not said Yea for Nay, nor has he said Nay for Yea.

Has he spoken of unclean things or has he counselled disobedience?

Has he used false scales?

Has he accepted a wrong account or refused a rightful sum?

Has he disinherited a legitimate son, or recognized an illegitimate son?

## EGYPTIAN.

I have not oppressed the members of my family.

I have not thought scorn of God.

I have not cursed god.

I have not thought scorn of the God who is in my city.

I have attacked no man.

I have not acted deceitfully.

I have not uttered falsehood.

I have not committed any sin against purity.

I have not stirred up strife.

I have not made light the measure.

I have not added weights to the scales, nor misread the pointer.

BABYLONIAN.

EGYPTIAN.

Has he set up a false landmark,  
or refused to set up a true land-  
mark ?

Has he removed bound, border, or  
landmark ?

Has he broken into his neigh-  
bour's house ?

Has he drawn near his neighbour's  
wife ?

Has he shed his neighbour's  
blood ?

Has he stolen his neighbour's  
garment ?

I have neither added to or stolen  
land, or have I encroached on  
the field of others.

I have not robbed with violence.

I have not defiled the wife of a  
man.

I have done no murder, nor have  
I given order for murder to be  
done.

It will be seen from the above that, as regards civil law, there is a very general agreement between the two ethical systems. The code of Khammurabi was no new promulgation of laws ; it was but another example of that policy of centralization which this great administrator had adopted, and so the whole of the laws, perhaps known only to those connected with the law courts, were now collected, arranged, and codified for the edification of the people. We have this in his own words—

"I am," he says, "the pastor, the saviour, whose sceptre is a right one, the good protecting shadow \* over my city ; in my breast I cherish the inhabitants of Sumir and Akkad. By my genius in peace I have led them, by my wisdom I have directed them, that the strong might not injure the weak, to protect the widow and orphan. In Babylon, where Anu and Bēl raise their high heads, in Bit Sagil, whose foundations are established as Heaven and Earth, to judge judgment in the land, to decide decisions in the land, to settle disputes, my precious

\* Compare Hebrew expression, "Under the shadow of thy wings."

words on my stele I wrote, before my statue as King of Righteousness.

"I am the king who ruleth over the kings of cities, the mighty one, my noble words in power have no equal. By the command of Samas, the great Judge of Heaven and Earth, let righteousness go forth in the land. By the decree of Merodach my lord, my sculpture which manifests the mercifulness of my face in E. Sagil which I love, let my name be favourably commemorated to all time. Let the oppressed who has a case at law come and stand before my image as King of Righteousness, let him read the inscription and understand my precious words. The inscribed stone will explain his case to him, and make clear the law to him, and his heart well pleased will say, 'Khammurabi is a master, who is as the father who begat his people!'

"In future time, hereafter let the king who may be in the land, the words of righteousness which I have written on my monument, may he observe; the law of the land which I formulated, the edicts which I enacted, let him not alter; and let him not injure my sculptures.

"If such a ruler (man) has reverence, and would rule his land aright, to the words which I have written in this inscription let him attend; the rule, statute, and law of the land which I have given, the edicts which I have enacted, this inscription will reveal to him; let him rule his people, adjudge their case, and decide their decisions, and obliterate from his land litigant and defendant, and make his people happy."

It is evident, then, that this stele, on which the laws were inscribed, was set up in the great temple of Marduk in Babylon, to be accessible to all who had occasion to consult the courts which met there. The law courts, both

in the capital and in the minor cities, were held in the temples. Of this we have proof in many of the reports of law cases which have come down to us. The hall of judgment was called the "*šurinam*," or Justice room, and here the Kar or Bench of Judges sat. There were always two judges in a case, and often more. Thus we read one tablet (285, 12, 711)—

"Regarding the baggage ass which Ilu-su-abu-su to Arad Bel and the leather merchant had given, the judges in the temple of the sun-god within the city of Sippur their case examined, and in the judgment hall of the sun-god the judges Arad Bel and the leather merchant to Ilu-su-abu-su they awarded it. In the judgment hall of the sun-god, in the old gate of the sun-god, Ilu-su-abu-su, son of Sin-Nazir, and Arad Bel and the leather merchant, bargained for six shekels of silver of the standard of Zaban, and ten shekels of silver of the standard of Sippur the greater, as regards the ass they took."

This tablet is dated in the reign of Apil-Sin (B.C. 2333), in the year when the fortress Dur-mute was built. Interesting light is thrown on the composition of the Babylonian law courts by a tablet which relates a suit as to the possession of a female slave, where we are told that the case was tried before the *Rabian* of Sippur and the Kar or Bench of Sippura. From a valuable collection of letters of the Babylonian king Abesu, the grandson of Khammurabi, we gain further information as to these courts. The letter reads (III.) \*—

"To Siniddinam and the Court of Sippur and the Judges of Sippur, thus saith Abesu, Bunenenazir and Mini-Samas have informed me saying, Ili-idinnam our brother has held us to bond. For two years we have laid the matter before

\* King's "Letters of Khammurabi," p. 136.

the Court of Sippar, but they have not done us justice. After this manner they have informed me. On seeing this tablet, send to Babylon this Ili-idinnam and his witnesses who have knowledge of this case."

The Rabian was the president or master of the court, the word being cognate with the Hebrew Rabbi. There is a very interesting letter of Khammurabi's in regard to one of these "Masters of the Courts" (King, XVI.). The king writes—

"The Rabian of the city of Medem has informed me concerning his bond. Now I am sending this Rabian of the city of Medem unto thee. Thou shalt examine into his case. Thou shalt send for the parties to his suit, and shalt cause them to bring him unto thee, and thou shalt 'give judgment according to the yoke.'"

Judgment according to the yoke was the Babylonian equivalent of penal servitude. In this case the money-lender had clearly brought himself under the thirty-eighth clause of the code, which forbids an official to pledge government property for a loan. The king had the right to revise all judgments on direct appeal to him, and the letters of Khammurabi and other kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon show that this was often done, as we shall see when we consider the letters in law cases which illustrate the clauses of this great code.

The greatest care was taken to preserve the witness from undue influence, threats, and bribery (III., IV.), and this is illustrated very clearly by a letter of King Khammurabi, ordering the despatch of certain men, who were concerned in a case, to Babylon. Here (King, viii. 8) the king orders seven men to be sent to Babylon, and says, "When thou shalt send them, thou shalt not send them together, but each man shalt thou despatch by himself."

In another case (XLIII.), where certain men are to be sent, "Look to it," the king says, "that they bring these men unto thee, and let a man whom thou canst trust take charge of them and bring them to Babylon."

As to bribery, it was very strongly deprecated by the king, as shown by one of his letters. He says, "Bribery has taken place in Dur Gurgurri, and the man who took the bribe and the witnesses who had knowledge of these matters are here. On seeing this tablet, inquire regarding the matter, and if bribery has taken place, set a seal upon the money or whatever was offered as bribe, and cause it to be brought to me." All the parties concerned in the case are then to be sent to Babylon.

Next in importance to the purity of the courts, a very difficult matter in Oriental countries, we notice the great importance which the king attaches, throughout the code, to the "sanctity of an oath." This is quite in accordance with the evidence afforded by the hundreds of contracts and legal documents which have been recovered from Babylon, Sippar, Nippur, and other cities.

The oath by the name of God, literally Spirit of God, was so binding that it released men from legal obligations; and every deed, even of the most trivial kind, is attested by oath. Usually the oath is by one or more gods, and by the name of the king; thus, "By the names of Samas Marduk and Apil-Sin they swore;" "Samas Marduk and Khammuri;" "Samas Ai (the bride) and Samsi-iluna they swore." An interesting oath often found is that "by Samas Marduk, the city of Sippar and the king they swore." This oath reminds us of the forbidden oath by the city of Jerusalem (Matt. v. 34). In the list of offences in the "Surpur tablets" we have perjury referred to: "Has he said yea for nay, or has he said nay for yea?"



The expressions by the "name of God" or "to account before God" clearly refer to the Babylonian belief that every man has a special patron god, as we read so often "of his god and his goddess." These divinities stood in *loco parentis* to the man, and he was responsible to them for all his actions. Sin alienated them from him, and it was in penitence he went to them. Thus we read, "Is his sin against his own god or his own goddess." It is this conception which we find in the Arabic belief in the two recording angels, who write down the good and evil deeds a man does in life, and it forms the basis of the beautiful penitential psalms which are among the finest specimens of Babylonian literature.

This belief in a man's personal responsibility to his own god is curiously shown in some of the litanies where, at the end of the hymn, we have a formula reading, "J. M., son of N., whose god is X., and whose goddess is Y., pray to thee." And no doubt the Babylonian swore by the name of his own god to whom he was directly responsible.

I now come to the most remarkable feature of the code. Based as it is on the principle of *jus talionis*, it is drastic to an extreme in the administration of the death penalty, no less than thirty-six crimes being punishable with death in one form or another. Many of the crimes, such as witchcraft, perjury, theft, especially sacrilege, kidnapping, house-breaking, and highway robbery, rape of a betrothed maiden, incest, or breach of Nazarite vow (sec. 110), adultery, conspiracy to murder, are punishable with death in the Hebrew and other codes, but many offences to which Babylonian law awarded this punishment seem very trivial for so severe a punishment.

Buying from servants or slaves (sec. 7), taking or selling lost property (secs. 8 and 9), or vexatious claim for

lost property (sec. 11), inciting or harbouring slaves who escape (secs. 15-18), allowing riotous conduct in a wine-shop (sec. 109), or selling drink too cheap (sec. 110), and others, seem hardly to merit so severe a punishment.

There is every probability that in most of the minor offences the sentence could be compounded with a fine. With such an array of capital crimes, it is curious to note that we have not, as far as I know, a single record of an execution. From what we know of the Babylonians, it is hardly likely that they possessed that cruel spirit which the Assyrians exhibited, whose annals abound in records of cruelty and bloodshed. It is interesting to notice some of the special punishments; thus, conspiracy to kill a husband is punished by impalement, *ina gašišim išakkannu-šim* ("on a stake they place her"). This death we often see represented in the Assyrian sculptures.

The punishment of burning is awarded to a votary who breaks her vow by opening or entering a wine-shop. This may be partly due to the fact that the wine-shop was also a house of ill-fame. It was also awarded to incest between a man and his mother (sec. 157), and to one who committed a robbery during the confusion of a fire (sec. 25). [This punishment seems also to have been reserved for unfaithful wives in Egypt, for the wicked wife in the tale of Abana is burned on the north side of the temple. Drowning, too, is a punishment reserved for females for selling drink too cheap (sec. 109), for adultery (sec. 129), for a bad, negligent, and gad-about wife (sec. 143), and for one who leaves her husband's house during his absence when duly provided for (sec. 133).

It is not improbable that both burning and drowning were punishments, like the compulsory suicide in Egypt, or the Japanese "happy despatch," which criminals were

compelled to perform, and which carried with it punishment in the next world as well as this. This mode of death in Egypt entailed in after-time the dreaded second death, which meant annihilation.

Branding was inflicted for slander (sec. 127), and also, as we know from the code of family laws, for repudiation of parents by an adopted son.

An examination of the text clearly shows that it was far from being a primitive code of laws; indeed, both the laws of Manu and the Teutonic laws present many more primitive traits. This is especially noticeable in the punishments where, with the exception of burning and mutilation, there is little that savours of savage life, and there are none of the extravagant and impossible punishments that figure in other codes. The punishments, too, were not administered by the offended person, but after due trial by a court. We must notice, too, that the punishments may be death, fine, or mutilation; imprisonment was either too expensive, or, in many cases, impossible. The nearest approach is "the punishment of the yoke," which compelled the offender to labour for the general good. One of the most remarkable features of the code is the appeal to the oath. "An oath is the end of strife." Both in civil and criminal matters it is sufficient justification "to swear by the name of God," or to declare (on oath) before God. In no other code is this extremely high estimate of the oath found.

To examine some of the most remarkable features in detail, the most striking and unique element in this wonderful legislation is the high position and privileges accorded to women. Neither in the Aryan nor Hebrew codes is anything approaching it to be met with; the nearest affinities are to be met with in the Mohammedan codes.

To instance examples where the ancient and modern law are almost at one, we may notice the clauses (172-177) which relate to the rights of widows. Here the widow can claim as a son, and has also a legal right to reside in the home. If the husband had made a will (171), "the wife takes the marriage portion and the settlements under the will, and is entitled to live in her husband's house as long as she lives; but for money she may not sell anything. After her it is her sons'." Under Mohammedan law the wife takes one-eighth where there are children, a fourth if there are none.\* In the same way the mothers and widows *durante viduitate* have the right to the custody of the sons until they attain the age of seven years, and of daughters until they attain the age of puberty.† The mother's right is forfeited by marrying a stranger, but reverts on again becoming a widow.‡ A guardian is not at liberty to sell the immovable property of his ward. The Babylonian law applied also to movable property (177), "but a utensil they shall not give for money." Under the Babylonian law the widow loses her right of sole guardianship, but becomes joint trustee with her second husband for the children's property. This is a refinement of civil law far ahead of any other code.

So also in the case of divorce, the Babylonian code represents a high standard. As with Arabs, the divorce was by spoken formula—"I put her away"—not by a written deed, as in the Hebrew code (Deut. xxv. 1-4); while the husband must "find some unseemly thing in her," and, according to Babylonian law, he must also prove evil

\* Macnaghten's "Principles of Hindu and Mohammedan Law," p. 154, No. 1.

† *Ibid.*, p. 222, Nos. 8, 9.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 222, No. 14.

conduct. Under Mohammedan law "the divorce could be without misbehaviour on her part, or without assigning a cause."\* One of the most interesting features of the code is the protection extended to sick wives. A husband might divorce a barren wife (138) by giving her her dowry and marriage portion, but a sick wife cannot be put away on account of her ill health; thus clause 148 is one of the most just in the system: "If a man takes a wife, and a sickness seizes her, and he sets his face to take another wife, his wife who sickness has seized he may not put away; in the house he has built she shall dwell; as long as she lives he shall provide for her." The sick wife had, however, the power to claim her divorce (149), and could return to her father's house with her dowry and wedding presents.

The position of second wife is very clearly defined, as well as that of marriage with wife's maid, such as we have in the case of Abraham and Hagar. These clauses are of special value, as they can be illustrated from actual deeds.

The second wife could not claim equally with the first. Although we have no actual proof, it is more than probable that the Babylonian law did not allow more than two legitimate wives, but the marriage with female servants was certainly common. Among the tablets in the British Museum are two marriage contracts relating to the marriage of two sisters with one husband. I am inclined to think from the wording of the deeds, that the sisterhood said to exist was of the nature of adoption or a half sisterhood.

"Taram Šagila and Iltani, daughters of Sin-abu-su, Arad Šamaš to wifehood or husbandhood has taken them."

"If Taram Šagila or Iltani to Arad Sin, their husband, shall say, 'Thou art not my husband,' then from the (*obscure*) he shall throw them; but if Arad Sin to Taram

\* Macnaghten, *cp. cit.*, p. 218, No. 24.

Šagila or Iltani, his wives, shall say, 'Thou art not my wife,' from house and goods she shall go out."

"Iltani the seniority (*sibi*) of Taram Šagila shall respect, her seat to the house of her god \* she shall carry; the food of Taram Šagila she shall provide; her welfare she shall regard, her deed she shall not destroy." Here it is evident that the second wife was the servant of the first. In the second deed there is a curious clause. "The children, as many as have been born or they shall bear, are their (respective) children." This clause was due to a clause of the code (167) which regulates the relative portion of the children of the two wives, where we read, "After the father has gone to his fate, the children according to their mothers shall not share; they shall take the marriage portion of their mothers, and divide the property of the paternal house equally." In the second deed the repudiation by the husband entails a fine, "one mana of silver he shall pay." This was probably the marriage portion. In another deed we read, "If the husband divorce her, one mana of silver he shall pay her." The obscure passage, indeed, one as to the punishment of the wives for repudiation, must mean some quay or place near the river, for we see from the code (143) the punishment was drowning. In the main the code is remarkable for the protection accorded to the wife, for, although the husband was the head of the family, he could not act with unlicensed power, but must justify his acts, and her life and property were protected against him. In the clause (151) relating to individual debts of husband and wife, we have a curious forecast of the Married Women's Property Act.

Passing from the legitimate wife to the handmaid, we have some most interesting sections, and which show that,

\* Second deed reads, "Half a mana of silver he shall pay."

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with regard to the position of this member of the Oriental household, there is a decided deterioration in the existing Moslem law. Under the Babylonian law the maidservant who had borne children to her master, although inferior to her mistress, could "not be sold for money" (146), but still remained a servant. If, however, the husband recognized the offspring, they had a second claim in the division of the paternal property (170). Even if unrecognized, she obtained her freedom, and the sons of the wife could not claim service of her progeny.

In Arabic law the position of the *um-i-walad* (the slave who had borne children to her master) is much the same. "She is emancipated unconditionally on the death of her master." But as to the marriage of slaves, we have a most astonishing difference from both Moslem and Aryan law. If a slave marries a daughter of a free man, the owner of the slave has no claim on the offspring; they are *ipso facto* free.

Under Mohammedan law slaves "cannot marry without the consent of their masters, or inherit or bequeath property." A man cannot marry a female slave so long as he has a free wife; nor can he under any circumstances marry his own slave girl, nor can a slave marry his mistress.\*

The special legislation for votaries attached to the temples are important, for we have already seen that the priestesses attached to the temples were a most important element in the Babylonian population. The marriage portion of these females was probably a sum or an amount of property set aside at the time when their dedication took place.

\* The Institutes of Manu are strongly opposed to such alliances. So also in Arab law. Macnaghten, *op. cit.*, p. 227, No. 14.



**TABLET OF DOMESTIC LAWS.**





A feature of Babylonian law which we do not find either in Arab or Hebrew legislation is the custom of adoption. This custom was very common among the Greeks and the Aryans of India. In the laws of Manu the adopted child is thus described: "He whom his father or mother, with her husband's assent, gives to another as his son, provided the donor has no issue, if the boy be of the same class, and affectionately disposed, is considered as a son given, the gift being confirmed by pouring out water. He is considered as a son made or adopted, whom a man takes as his own son."\* It would seem from clause 191 that in Babylonian, as in Indian law, the party adopting should be at the time destitute of a son. The laws of adoption are clearly set forth here: (1) a foundling child, (2) the child of living parents, (3) a child of some unfortunate. The system seems to have originated in the desire to retain property in the household, much on the same basis as the child marriages in England. The child had to be recognized, and by that he became a true member of the family (190), and given a deed of adoption, and could return to his father's house if not so recognized. There are several of these deeds of adoption in the British and other museums.

The child must be taught a trade. It is evident that absolute obedience to the foster parents was to be enforced. To the law of adopted children a well-known tablet of bilingual precepts of family life have generally been considered to apply; and as these precepts are fairly in agreement with the Code of Khammurabi, we may consider this to be correct—

1. If a son to his father shall say, "Thou art not my

\* Macnaghten, *op cit.*, p. 68.

father," they brand him, an armlet place upon him, and for silver he may be sold.\*

2. If a son to his mother shall say, "Thou art not my mother," his manhood they brand, in the city debase him, and from the house they expel him.

3. If a father to his son shall say, "Thou art not my son," from house and dwelling he shall go.

4. If a mother to her son shall say, "Thou art not my son," from house and property he shall go.

We see that the father, if he repudiated his adopted son (191), had to give him one-third of his share.

The power of a parent to disinherit his child was seriously controlled, and evidently intended to prohibit hasty action. Not only (167, 168) must the matter be decided by a judge, but time for reflection was given, as in the Moslem three times pronounced formula of divorce. "If he has committed a serious crime against his father, one which entails cutting off of sonship, the judge for the first time shall turn his face (overlook); but if he has committed a serious crime for the second time, the father shall cut his son off from sonship." We do not know the exact offences which permitted disinheriting. Under the Moslem law slavery, homicide, difference of religion, excluded from inheritance; † but we may reasonably suppose also that serious violation of the family laws would entail banishment and expulsion—incest (154) with daughter or stepmother.

The laws of assault are distinctly based on the *lex-talionis*, but the Babylonian code makes a distinction between intentional and unintentional injury. Here we have a

\* From a tablet relating to a runaway slave (Bu. 91. 5. 9. 419), we know that the brand and the armlet was a sign of slavery.

† Macnaghten, *op. cit.*, p. 152, No. 6.

near agreement with the Hebrew legislation (Ex. xxiii. 23-25 and xviii. 19), but the Babylonian law seems more severe where the punishment is carried to the next generation, as in the assault upon a woman (210), where the daughter of the assailant suffers; or in the case of a builder whose negligence has killed the owner of the house, where the life of his son is demanded as an equivalent (230). Here we notice the graduated scale of fines as in the Hebrew code. The responsibility of medical men for their patients' recovery still exists in the East. The occurrence of the barber surgeon, as a quasi-medical man, is very ancient, for we find them mentioned in the list of trades in the stele of Maništū-su (B.C. 4500). They also officiated as medical men in Egypt, and do so to this day in many parts of the East.

The responsibility of a builder for his work is not surprising in a land where so much building was carried out, but some interesting light is thrown upon these clauses in a tablet of rules as to a man's social duties, where the description of building a house is given—

" He establishes for a dwelling his dwelling-house.  
 Until the house is built, he prepares the beams and foundations.  
 He gathers together the cut beams.  
 He arranges in order the chief beams.  
 He strengthens the old house (adjoining?) with bricks, and sets up uprights.  
 He puts a roof over the house he has planned.  
 If the house is not constructed properly, he must set up supports.  
 If a house is not set up as a proper house, he shall pay a fine of ten shekels of silver."

The fine here would be almost as much as he would get for building the house. The numerous contracts relating to the sale of house property which have come down to us show that there must have been a busy trade

in them, both selling and letting. As an example, I quote the following :—

“ 5½ sar, a built house ;  
 15 sar, courtyard ;  
     In all, 20½ sar domicile.  
 Adjoining the house of Iddina Sin the weaver ;  
 Adjoining the houses of Sin-murra and the house of Išme Sin, son of Nerra-eris ?  
 Its front to the main street ;  
 Its back to the houses of Sin-magir, son of Eribam, and Sin-eribam, son of Bel Sunu ;  
 Its exit is on the main street.  
 From Nannar-iddina, son of Ilu-šu-bani, Aššate Šamaš, the priestess of Šamaš, the daughter of Sin-tairi,  
 For ring silver (ring money) has bought.  
 Its full price ⅔ of a mana 2 shekels she has weighed. One with the other shall not dispute, shall not claim back, etc. By the names of Šamaš Marduk and Khammurabi and the city of Sippur they swore.”

The use of ring money in Babylonia was like the ring money in Egypt, and especially used for small payments. The rent of houses does not appear to have been very high, as shown by some of the memoranda of agreement that have come down to us.

(1) The house of Baka, from Baka, Sin-remeni, the son of Ilu-kasin, for one year has hired. All the rent for the year is ⅓ (shekel) 10 se of silver. The first day of Kislev is the day of entry.

(2) The house of Masku, from Masku, the builder of the house, has Akhi-bili for one year hired. The rent for the year is one shekel of silver ; the fifth day of Tamuz is the day of entry.

The regulations as to shipping are such as we should expect from a people who had a large carrying trade over the rivers and canals of the Tigro-Euphrates valley.

The laws as to property, and commercial transactions, are based on good sense and equity, except in one case (126), where the sanctity of the oath appears to be very

much strained. All the laws in regard to stolen or lost property are based on the production of *bonâ fide* proof of (1) the identity of the property, (2) the validity of the sale. An unusually wide margin, namely, six months, is allowed for the production of witnesses (13).

The laws as to slaves show how valuable a property these were regarded. Though not mentioned in the code, the slaves appear in Babylonia to have been divided into the same divisions as under the Moslem law—of entire and qualified. The entire slave was one of slave descent, either from a captive in battle or their descendants. The qualified slave was one who had power to manumit himself on payment of a certain sum, or who stood in such a position to his master that he obtained his freedom on the death of the latter. In the lists of legal terms this manumission is frequently mentioned, as well as the money payment. These slaves were often well educated, and most of them followed some trade, and they had power to hold property, by the proceeds of which they could free themselves. An interesting tablet as to a fugitive slave has recently been published by Dr. T. G. Pinches, and it well illustrates the law (18)—

"Arad-bunene, of whom Tamkhi-ili was his master, for one and a half mana of silver to Asnuna gave him.

Five years in the land of Asnuna he was held in service, thence to Babylonia he fled.

Sin-mušalim and Marduk-nazir, who were over the workmen, recognized him, and said, 'Over thy armlet is a brand,' thou must go before the palace servants.

Arad-bunene then said thus, 'Before the palace servants I will not go, but on the affairs of my father's house I will go.'

The fugitive slave's brothers then appear and swear on oath by the names of Ammi-satana the king, and by

Marduk, "that he cannot be claimed for service" as long as he lives with his brothers and attends to the affairs of his father's house. In the time of the later Babylonian Empire they attained to very high positions in their masters' houses, and even in the service of the State.

In the commercial law we see the same exactitude as to transactions. Accounts must be carefully kept, and vouchers, or sealed receipts, taken for everything.

The dangerous state of the highways which the traders of Babylon had to traverse is shown in the clause relating to loss by robbery (103). The word used for agent in these clauses is a very interesting one. "Sagan-lal" is explained as "the man who carries the stone weights" — a name which explains the expression in Prov. xvi. 11, "A just balance and scales are the Lord's; all the weights of the bag are his work." These agents were, no doubt, itinerant merchants or pedlars, who were entrusted with certain goods to sell, and who received a commission on the sales. An example of one of these transactions is known to us. "Adad-iddinam and Arad Martu made a partnership and went to Sippura, and in the gate of the Sun-god they returned the property and the capital they invested, and each took as much as he was entitled to and went his way." These partnerships were then, as now, in Baghdad and other Eastern towns, made for a single venture or caravan journey, and then settled up at the end.

The licensing laws call for little comment, except to notice that those who kept the wine shops, were females; and hence, as I have already said, the character of the house was doubtful.

The examination of the code which I have here made,

shows that it was no primitive system of legislation which Khammurabi codified, and that it was essentially based on common sense, equity, and justice ; all of which prove it to be the result of centuries of experience and gradual elimination of barbarous elements.



CHAPTER VIII  
"LAWS OF KHAMMURABI"

*CODE.*

WITCHCRAFT.

I. **I**F a man weave a spell, and put a ban upon a man, and has not justified himself, he weaving the spell shall be put to death.

II. If a man has placed an enchantment upon a man and has not justified himself, he upon whom the enchantment is placed to the holy river (Euphrates) shall go, into the holy river he shall plunge. If the holy river holds him (drowns), he who enchanted him shall take his house.

(But) If the holy river makes that man to be innocent, and saves him, he who placed the enchantment upon him shall be put to death. He who plunged into the river, the house of him who enchanted him shall take.

THREATENING WITNESSES.

III. If a man during a law case shall utter threats against the witnesses, and has not justified the word he uttered, if that suit is one on which a life depends, that man shall die.

BRIBERY.

IV. If he has sent corn or money to the witnesses, he shall himself bear the verdict of that case.

FALSE JUDGMENT.

V. If a judge has judged a judgment, or decided a decision, and granted a legal document, and afterwards his judgment is changed, for the alteration of the judgment he shall be held responsible. As regards that which was dependent upon the said judgment, twelve times the amount he shall pay. In the assembly from the judgment seat they shall cast him, and he shall not return; with the judges, in a judgment, he shall not take his seat.

STOLEN PROPERTY.

VI. *Sacrilege*.—If a man the property of a god, temple, or palace has stolen, that man shall be put to death, and he who received the stolen property from his hand shall be put to death.

VII. *Receiving*.—If a man silver, gold, a male or female servant, ox, sheep, or ass, or anything whatsoever from the hands of a man's son or from a man's servant has bought, without witness or vouchers, or has taken on deposit, that man is a thief, he shall be put to death.

VIII. *Compensation*.—If a man an ox, sheep, or ass, or pig, or boat, has stolen either from a god (temple) or a palace, he shall pay thirty-fold. If he is a common man, he shall pay tenfold.

If the thief has nothing to pay with, he shall be put to death.

## LOST PROPERTY.

IX. *Claimed when sold.*—If a man has lost some property, and, the property he has lost in the hands of a man is seized, (and) the man in whose hands it is taken shall say, "A giver gave it to me," or "In the presence of witnesses I bought it," and the owner of the property shall say, "Witnesses who know my lost property I can bring," the buyer who bought, the giver who gave it, and the witnesses before whom he bought it, he shall bring. The judge their statements shall examine, and the witnesses before whom the purchases were made, and the witnesses knowing the lost property, their evidence before God shall repeat.

If the seller has acted a thief, he shall be put to death.

The owner of the lost property shall take his lost property, and the buyer from the house of the seller shall take the money he paid.

X. *"Failure to prove purchase."*—If a buyer has not produced the seller who sold it to him, or the witnesses before whom he bought (it), but the owner of the lost property has produced the witnesses identifying his property, the buyer has acted a thief, and shall be put to death, the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property.

XI. *"Failure to identify."*—If the owner of the lost property the witness to identify his lost property has not produced, he has lied; he has stirred up strife, he shall be put to death.

XII. *Death of Vendor.*—If the vendor has gone to his fate (died), the buyer from the house of the vendor five-fold the claim of that case shall take.

XIII. *Time to produce Witnesses.*—If the man his

witnesses has not to hand, the judge a fixed period up to six months, shall allow him, and if within six months his witnesses he does not compel to appear, that man has lied, and shall bear the onus of that case.

CHILD STEALING.

XIV. If a man has stolen the young child of a man, he shall be put to death.

SLAVE STEALING.

XV. If a man a male or female slave of the palace, or the male or female slave of a common man, has caused to go forth from the great gate, he shall be put to death.

XVI. *Harbouring a Slave.*—If a man a male or female slave who is lost from the palace, or one of a common man, in his house shall harbour, and on the demand of the commandant has not produced them, the owner of that house shall be put to death.

XVII. *Capture of a Fugitive Slave.*—If a man a lost male or female slave, in the open country has captured, and to his owner has driven him back, the owner of that slave shall pay two shekels of silver.

XVIII. *Refusal of Owner's Name.*—If that slave his owner's name will not state, to the palace he shall drive him, concerning him they shall examine, and to his owner they shall restore him.

XIX. *Detention of a Slave.*—If one confines a slave in his house, and afterwards that slave is seized in his hands, that man shall be put to death.

XX. *Escape from Captor.*—If the slave from the hand of his captor has fled, that man to the owner of the slave by the name of God shall swear, and he shall be free.

## BURGLARY.

XXI. If a man has broken into a house, in front of the said breach they shall kill him and bury him.

## ROBBERY.

XXII. If a man has effected a robbery, and is taken, that man shall be put to death.

XXIII. *Local Compensation for Robber.*—If the robber has not been taken, his lost property, in the presence of God, the owner shall declare, and the city and the governor in whose land the robbery was effected, his lost property shall render back.

XXIV. *Compensation for Life.*—If it was a life, the city and the governor shall pay one mana of silver to his people (family).

XXV. *Theft at a Fire.*—If in a house of a man a fire has been kindled, and a man to extinguish the fire has come and has lifted his eyes to the property of the owner of the house, and taken the property of the owner of the house, that man into that fire shall be thrown.

## ROYAL ORDERS MUST BE EXECUTED IN PERSON.

XXVI. If an officer or constable who on an errand of the king a journey has been sent, and he goes not, or a hireling he hires, and as his substitute sends him, that officer or constable shall be put to death, and his hireling take his house.

## OFFICERS' PROPERTY MUST BE RETURNED.

XXVII. If an officer or constable on the authority of the king is detained, and after him his field and his garden

have been given to another, and the affairs he has managed, if he returns and regains his city, his field and his garden shall be returned to him, that he may manage his own affairs.

SON TO MANAGE PROPERTY DURING ABSENCE.

XXVIII. If an officer or constable, is detained on the authority of the king, and his son is able to manage his affairs, his field and garden shall be given to him, and the affairs of his father he shall manage.

XXIX. *Allowance to Mother.*—If his son is young, and the affairs of his father he cannot manage, one-third of the field and garden shall be given to his mother, and his mother shall bring him up.

XXX. *Three Years' Absence or Neglect forfeit Fief.*—If an officer or a constable has left alone his field, garden, or house from the beginning of his mission, and has allowed it to lie waste, and another after him has taken (them) and during three years has managed his affairs, if he returns, and his field, garden, or house would cultivate, they shall not give it to him; he who has taken it and managed his affairs, he shall manage it.

XXXI. *One Year's Absence does not void Fief.*—If for one year only he has let it go to waste, and he shall return, they shall give him his field, garden, or house, and he shall manage his own affairs.

XXXII. *Official captured on Mission to be ransomed.*—If an officer or constable on a mission of the king is detained, and a merchant has ransomed him, and to his own city has caused him to be brought (back),—if in his house for ransom there are (means), then himself he shall ransom; if in his house there are not means, from the temple of his city he shall be ransomed; if in the temple

of his city for his ransom there are not means, the palace shall ransom him. His field, his garden, or his house shall not be given for his ransom.

XXXIII. *Governors or Magistrates not to employ Substitutes.*—If either a governor or a magistrate the men of the corvee (?) has taken to himself, or on the king's business a hired substitute has taken and sent, that governor or magistrate shall be put to death.

XXXIV. *Property of Officers or Constables not to be seized.*—If either a governor or magistrate the property of an officer has taken to himself, or has robbed an officer, or an officer given on hire, or an officer in the decision of a case has robbed, or the gift the king had given to an officer has taken to himself, that governor or magistrate shall be put to death.

XXXV. *Royal Gifts not to be sold.*—If a man has bought the oxen or sheep which the king has given to an officer, from the hand of the officer he shall be deprived of his money.

XXXVI. *The Property of Officials not to be sold.*—The field, garden, and house of an official, or a constable, or a tax-collector he shall not give for money.

XXXVII. *Such Purchase void.*—If a man the field, garden, or house of an officer, constable, or tax-collector has bought, his tablet shall be taken, and he shall be deprived of his money; the field, garden, or house he shall return to its owner.

XXXVIII. *Property of Officials not to be assigned.*—An officer, constable, or tax-collector a field, garden, or house of which he has management to his wife or his daughter shall not write off, and for a debt he shall not give (them).

XXXIX. *Own Property may be assigned.*—But as

regards a field, garden, or house which he has bought, and is in possession of, he may assign (them) to his wife or daughter, and for his debt he may give them.

XL. *Sale of Property.*—A votary, merchant, or foreign stranger he may sell his field, garden, or house for money, the purchaser the management of the field, garden, or house may exercise.

XLI. *Official Property not to be bartered.*—If a man the field, garden, or house of an officer, constable, or tax-collector has bartered and given exchanges, the officer, constable, or tax-collector shall return to his field, garden, or house, and exchanges he shall keep.

#### AGRICULTURAL LAWS.

XLII. *Land must be cultivated.*—If a man a field for cultivation has taken, and has not caused corn to grow on the field, and has not performed the work on the field, he shall be called to account, and corn like his neighbour to the owner of the field he shall give.

XLIII. If the field he has not cultivated and left fallow, corn like his neighbour to the master of the field he shall give, and the field he has left fallow with his hoes he shall break up and harrow, and to the owner of the field he shall return it.

XLIV. *Payment for reclaiming Land.*—If a man an unreclaimed field for three years to open up has taken and put it on one side and not opened it up, but in the fourth year he shall break it up with hoes, and hoe it and harrow it, to the owner of the field he shall measure out ten gur of corn for every ten feddan.

XLV. *Damage by Storm.*—If a man his field for rent to a farmer has given, and the rent of his field he has



received, and afterwards a thunderstorm has inundated the field or carried away the produce of the field, the loss is the farmer's.

XLVI. *Rent to be paid at Harvest-time.*—If his rent he has not received, and has given his field for a half or a third, the corn which is in the field the farmer and the owner of the field shall (divide) according to the terms of contract.

XLVII. *First Tenant responsible for Sub-tenant.*—If a farmer in the first year his tenancy has not taken up, and the field to cultivation has assigned, the owner of the field shall not condemn the farmer, and at the harvest-time he shall take corn according to his bonds.

XLVIII. *Loss by Storm free from Interest.*—If a man has a debt upon him, and a thunderstorm ravages his field or the produce carries away, or from lack of water the corn in the field has not grown, in that year corn to his creditor he shall not return, his tablet alter, and interest for that year he shall not pay.

XLIX. *Loans repaid at Harvest.*—If a man has taken money from a merchant, and a field planted with corn or sesame has given to the merchant, and has said to him, "Cultivate the field, reap and take for thyself the corn or sesame which there shall be," if the farmer causes corn or sesame to grow in the field, at the time of harvest the said owner of the field shall take the corn or sesame which is in the field, and shall give corn for the money, and for the tenancy of the farmer to the merchant.

L. *Cultivated Land.*—If the field was cultivated, or the field of sesame was cultivated, when he gave it, the owner of the field shall take the corn or sesame which was in the field, and shall return the money and its interest to the merchant.

LI. *Lack of Means must pay by Royal Tariff.*—If the money to repay he has not, the sesame, according to its market value, for his money and interest, which from the merchant he had taken, according to the tariff (fixed) by the king, to the merchant he shall give.

LII. *Bonds hold good.*—If the farmer in the field, corn or sesame, has not caused to grow, his bond it shall not render void.

LIII. *Neglect of Irrigation Canals.*—If a man for his canal to strengthen its banks has neglected, has not made strong, or in its bank a breach has opened itself, and the waters the adjacent land have carried away, the man in whose bank the breach was opened the corn which was destroyed shall replace.

LIV. *Man and Goods to be sold for Compensation.*—If the corn to repay he cannot find, that man and his property they shall sell for money, and the farmers of the lands whose corn the waters have carried away shall divide it.

LV. *Damage from Irrigation Trench.*—If a man his ditches for irrigation has opened and neglected them, and the field of his neighbour the waters have destroyed, corn equivalent he shall measure.

LVI. *Rate of Compensation.*—If a man has opened the waters, and the produce of his neighbour's land the waters have destroyed, ten gur of corn for each feddan he shall pay.

LVII. *Green Crops damaged by Sheep.*—If a shepherd on the green crop has caused his sheep to feed, and with the owner of the field has not made terms, but without the consent of the owner of the field on the field has caused the sheep to feed, the owner shall reap the field, the shepherd who, without the consent of the owner of the

field, on the field has caused his sheep to feed, over and above for each ten feddan twenty gur of corn he shall give.

LVIII. *Growing Crops damaged by Sheep.*—If from the time the sheep from the land have gone up and the whole flock by the gate have passed in, and the shepherd has put the sheep upon the field, and caused the sheep to feed off the field, the shepherd who has caused them to feed off the field shall be watched, and at harvest-time for each ten feddan of land sixty gur of corn he shall measure out.

LIX. *Damage to Fruit-trees.*—If a man, without the consent of the owner of a plantation, in the plantation of a man has cut down a tree, half a mana of silver he shall pay.

LX. *Five-year Lease of Garden.*—If a man has given a field to plant as a garden to a gardener, and the gardener has planted the garden, four years shall he rear the garden. In the fifth year the owner of the garden and the gardener equally shall share (it), and the owner of the garden shall cut off his portion and take it.

LXI. *Uncultivated Portion goes to Gardener.*—If the gardener in planting all the field has not included, but a waste piece has left, the waste portion within his own portion he shall count.

LXII. *Compensation for Neglect of Cultivation.*—If the field which has been given him he has not planted as a garden, if it was corn land, to the owner of the field for each year in which it was neglected, the gardener to the owner of the field an amount (of corn) equal to his neighbour shall he measure out, and on the field the ordered work he shall do, and return to the owner of the field.

LXIII. *Neglect to reclaim Land.*—If the field was unreclaimed land, he shall do the necessary work and return it to the owner of the field, and for each year he

(the owner) shall measure out ten gur of corn for each ten feddan of land.

LXIV. *Garden Rent.*—If a man has given his garden to a gardener to cultivate, the gardener, as long as he holds the garden, from the produce of the garden to the owner of the garden two-thirds he shall give to the owner, and one-third take for himself.

LXV. *Neglect to cultivate Garden.*—If the gardener does not cultivate the garden, and the product diminishes, the gardener for the produce of his garden equivalent to that of his neighbour shall measure out.

REVERSE.

COMMERCIAL LAW.

C. *Rendering of Accounts.*— . (Broken) . and the interests of the money, as much as he took, (the agent) shall write down, its days he shall reckon, and he shall account to his merchant.

CI. *Loss to be accounted for.*—If in the place he has gone to he has not encountered prosperity, the money he took he shall reckon up, and the agent to the merchant shall give (it).

CII. *Loss on Friendly Loan to be made up.*—If a merchant to an agent money as a favour has given, and in the place to which he went loss he has encountered, the capital he shall return to the merchant.

CIII. *Robbery by Enemies.*—If on the road (journey) in his mission the enemy the property he bore has caused him to lose, the agent, by the name of God, shall swear, and he shall quit.

CIV. *Receipts to be given.*—If a merchant to an agent

corn, wool, oil, or any kind of goods to trade with has given, the agent shall write down the money, and to the merchant he shall render, the agent a sealed (receipt) for the money he gave to the merchant shall take.

CV. *Voucher must be taken.*—If an agent has neglected, and for the money he has given the merchant a sealed receipt has not taken, the money not sealed (receipted) for he shall not place in his accounts.

CVI. *Disputed Accounts.*—If an agent money from a merchant has taken, and the merchant has disputed it with him, that merchant, in the presence of God and witnesses as to the money taken, shall make the agent account. All he received threefold to the merchant he shall give.

CVII. *Failure of Principal's Claim.*—If a merchant has wronged an agent, and the agent whatsoever that merchant gave him to the merchant has returned, that agent, in the presence of God and witnesses, shall put that merchant to account, and the merchant, inasmuch as he disputed with the agent whatsoever he took, sixfold to the agent he shall give.

#### LICENSING LAW.

CVIII. *Wine-sellers to abide by Corn Tariff.*—If a wine-merchant (female) has not taken corn as the price of drink, but silver by the high standard has taken, and the price of drink has lowered below the corn tariff, that wine-merchant they shall call to account, and into the water they shall throw her.

CIX. *Riotous Characters to be arrested.*—If a wine-merchant has allowed riotous characters to assemble in her house, and those riotous characters has not seized and driven them to the palace, that wine-merchant shall be put to death.

CX. *Votaries may not trade in Wine or frequent Wine-shops.*—If a votary, or a woman of the temple, who does not reside in the sacred precincts, has opened a wine-shop, or has entered a wine-shop for drink, that woman they shall burn her.

CXI. *Credit for Drink.*—If a wine-merchant sixty quarts of best beer for thirst has given, at harvest-time fifty quarts of grain she shall take.

CXII. *Carriers' Law.*—If a man on a journey sets out, and gold, silver, stones, or any property in his possession is given him to take for transport, and that man the property given him for transport to the place of transport delivers it not, but takes it to himself, the owner of the transported property that man, in regard to the transported property which he delivered not, shall take to account, and that man fivefold the (value of) the property that was given him to the owner of the goods carried shall give.

CXIII. *Corn in Bond protected.*—If a man has corn or money with a man, and without the consent of the owner of the corn has taken corn from the bin or from the store, that man, for taking the corn without the consent of the owner from the bin or store, shall be put to account, and corn as much as he has taken he shall return, and the amount of corn he gave he shall lose.

#### LAWS OF DISTRAINT AND DEPOSIT.

CXIV. *Fine for Unjust Distraint.*—If a man not having corn or money upon a man levies a distraint, for each single distraint he shall pay half a mana of silver.

CXV. *Death of Debtor from Natural Causes.*—If a man having corn or money upon a man has levied a distraint,

and the debtor in the house of the distrainer dies a natural death, there is no claim.

**CXVI. *Death from Starvation or Violence.***—If a debtor has died in the house of the distrainer from blows or of starvation, the owner of the debt shall hold his agent responsible, and if the (deceased) was the son of a free-man, his son they shall slay ; if he was the slave of a free-man, he shall pay one-third of a mana of silver, and all he had given he shall lose.

**CXVII. *Personal Security for Debt limited to Three Years.***—If a man has been seized for debt and his wife, his son, or his daughter to work off the debt has given, they shall labour for three years in the house of their buyer or holder ; in the fourth year he shall establish their freedom.

**CXVIII. *Slaves as Security may be sold.***—If a man has given a man-servant or a maid-servant to work off a debt, and the merchant remove them and sell them for money, no one can object.

**CXIX. *Female Slave may be ransomed.***—If a man has been seized for debt, and a female slave, who has borne him children, for the money he has given, the money the merchant gave him, if he pays, he sets his female slave free.

**CXX. *Corn stored not to be touched.***—If a man has heaped up corn for storage in the house of a man, and in the granary a disaster has happened, or the owner of the house has opened the granary and taken the corn, or as to the amount of corn which in his house was stored up has disputed, the owner of the corn, in the presence of God, shall account his corn, the owner of the house the corn which he took shall replace, and to the owner of the corn he shall give it.

CXXI. *Terms of Storage.*—If a man has heaped up corn in the house of a man, he shall pay for each gur of corn stored five *ka* of corn *per gur per annum*.

CXXII. *Warehousing of Valuables : Deposit-note required.*—If a man to another man silver, gold, or any manner of property shall give for warehousing, all whatsoever he gives he shall show to witnesses, and bonds he shall execute, and to warehousing he shall (give them).

CXXIII. *No claim without Deposit-note.*—If (he is) without witnesses or bonds of that which for warehousing he has given, and where he has given (them) they dispute him, that claim does not hold good.

CXXIV. *Loss on Deposit to be refunded.*—If a man has silver, gold, or any property placed to warehouse in the presence of witnesses, and the (receiver) shall dispute with him, he shall make him account, and whatsoever he has disputed he shall make good and give to him.

CXXV. *Loss by King's Enemies.*—If a man has given any property to warehouse, and in the place where he gave it, by housebreaking or violence some of his property, along with the property of the owner of the house, (is lost), the owner of the house who has defaulted, all that was given him to warehouse and he has lost he shall make good, and to the owner of the goods he shall restore. The owner, whatsoever he has lost he shall seek out, and from the stealer he shall take.

CXXVI. *Oath sufficient.*—If a man of his property has not lost, but has said he has lost property, or his deficiency has exaggerated, in regard to that which he has not lost, or his deficiency, in the presence of God he shall recount, and whatsoever he has claimed he shall receive, and to the deficiency credit it.



## LAWS RELATING TO WOMEN.

CXXVII. *Libel on Females*.—If a man, against a votary or the wife of a man, has caused the finger to be pointed and has not justified himself, that man before the judges they shall throw down, and shall brand him on the forehead.

CXXVIII. *Marriage Lines*.—If a man has married a wife and has not executed her deeds, that woman is no wife.

CXXIX. *Adultery*.—If the wife of a man with another in lying is taken, they shall bind them and throw them into the water ; but the owner of the wife may give her life, or the king may give life to his servant.

CXXX. *Rape of Betrothed Woman*.—If a man the wife of another man who has not known a male, and who abides in her father's house, shall force and upon her breast shall lie, and be taken, that man shall die, and that woman she shall go free.

CXXXI. *False Accusation of Wife*.—If the wife of a man her husband has accused her, and with another man in lying she has not been taken, by the name of God she shall swear, and to her house she shall return.

CXXXII. *Ordeal of Water for Scandal*.—If the wife of a man has had the finger pointed at her in regard to another male, and in lying she has not been taken, for her husband into the holy river she shall plunge.

## DESERTION.

CXXXIII. *Captivity of Husband no Excuse*.—If a man has been taken prisoner, and in his house there are provisions (maintenance), and his wife has gone forth and

into the house of another has entered, and has not guarded her body, but has entered into the house of another, that woman they shall put to account, and into the water they shall throw her.

CXXXIV. *No Maintenance justifies Woman.*—If a man has been taken prisoner, and in his house there is no maintenance, and then his wife into the house of another has entered, that woman has no fault.

CXXXV. *Returned Captive can claim Wife.*—If a man has been taken prisoner, and in his house there is no maintenance before her, and his wife has entered into the house of another and borne children, and in after-time her husband has returned and regained his city, that woman shall return to her spouse, but the children shall follow the father.

CXXXVI. *Fugitive cannot claim Wife.*—If a man has quitted his city and fled, and after him his wife has entered into the house of another, if that man shall return, and has laid hold of his wife, because he departed from his city and fled, the wife of the fugitive to her husband shall not return.

#### DIVORCE, ALIMONY, AND CUSTODY OF CHILDREN.

CXXXVII. If a man his concubine, who has borne him children, or his wife who has given him children, has set his face to put away, to that woman her marriage portion he shall return, and the usufruct of field, garden, and goods he shall give her, and she shall rear her children. From the time her children are grown up, from whatever is given to her children a portion like that of one son they shall give her, and she may marry the husband of her choice.

CXXXVIII. *Divorce of Barren Wife.*—If a man would put away the spouse who has not borne him children, all the money of her dowry he shall pay her, and the marriage portion which she brought from her father's house he shall make good to her, and he shall put her away.

CXXXIX. *If no Dowry, Compensation.*—If there was no dowry, he shall give her one mana of silver.

CXL. If a poor man, he shall give her one-third of a mana of silver.

CXLI. *Evil Conduct justifies Divorce.*—If the wife of a man, who dwells in the house of that man, to go forth has set her face, and has acted the fool, and wasted his house, and impoverished her husband, they shall call her to account. If her husband shall say, "I put her away," he shall put her away, and she shall go her way. For her divorce he shall give her nothing. If her husband shall say, "I do not put her away," and he shall marry another woman, that woman shall dwell in the house of her husband as a maidservant.

CXLII. *"Conjugal Rights."*—If a woman turns from her husband, and says, "Thou shalt not possess me," in regard to her (and) what is her failing they shall inquire. If she is careful, and has no vice, and her husband has gone forth and greatly depreciated her, that woman has no blame; she shall take her marriage portion and go to her father's house.

CXLIII. *If proved guilty, drowned.*—If she has not been careful, but has gone forth and his household property has wasted, and impoverishing him (husband), that woman into the waters they shall throw.

CXLIV. *Marriage with a Votary.*—If a man has married a votary, and that votary has given a female slave to her husband, who has brought children to that

man, and that man to marry a concubine has set his face, that man shall not be permitted ; a concubine he shall not marry.

CXLV. *Position of Second Wife.*—If a man marry a wife, and she bare him no children, and he set his face to take a second wife, if that man marries a second wife and causes her to enter the house, that second wife with the first wife shall not be allowed equality.

CXLVI. *Marriage with a Wife's Maid.*—If a man marries a wife, and she gives a female slave to her husband, and she bears children, and afterwards that woman with her mistress assumes equality, on account of the children she bore her master may not sell her for money ; a mark shall he put upon her, and with the female slaves count her.

CXLVII. *If childless, can be sold.*—If she has not borne children, her master can sell her for money.

CXLVIII. *Sick Wife.*—If a man takes a wife, and a sickness seizes her, and he sets his face to take another wife, his wife whom sickness has seized he may not put away ; in the house he has built (home) she shall dwell, as long as she lives he shall provide for her.

CXLIX. *Sick Woman can divorce herself.*—If that woman to abide in the house of her husband does not wish, the dowry which she brought from her father's house he shall make good to her, and she can go her way.

CL. If a man has given his wife a field, garden, or house, or property, and has deposited with her a sealed deed, and afterwards her husband or her children shall claim from her, that mother afterwards to her child whom she loves may give it, and to his brothers need give nothing.

CLI. *Husband or Wife responsible only for Individual*

*Debts.*—If a woman dwelling in the house of a man, as regards the creditors of her husband, they cannot seize her for that which her husband has bound himself or deposited a deed. If that man before he married that woman had a debt upon him, his creditors cannot arrest his wife ; or if that woman before she entered that man's house had a debt against her, her creditor cannot arrest her husband.

CLII. *Joint Responsibility.*—If after that woman entered the house of that man against them both there is a debt, jointly they shall pay the merchant.

CLIII. *Murder of Husband.*—If the wife of a man, on account of another man, has caused her husband to be killed, that woman on a stake they shall place her (impale).

CLIV. If a man know his own daughter, from the city they shall expel that man.

CLV. *Incest with Daughter-in-law.*—If a man has betrothed a bride to his son, and his son has known her, and afterwards he has slept on her breast, and been taken, that man they shall bind and cast into the waters.

CLVI. *Incest with Daughter-in-law.*—If a man has betrothed a bride to his son, and his son has not known her, and he has slept on her bosom, he shall pay her half a mana, and whatever she brought from her father's house he shall make good to her, and a husband of her choice she shall marry.

CLVII. *Incest with Mother.*—If a man, after his father, in the bosom of his mother has slept, they shall burn them both together.

CLVIII. *Incest with Stepmother.*—If a man, after his father, in the bosom of her who brought him up, who has borne children, shall be caught, that man from the paternal house they shall cut off.

MARRIAGE LAWS.

CLIX. *Breach of Promise.*—If a man to the house of his father-in-law a present has caused to be brought, or has given a dowry, and then has looked with favour upon another woman, and has said to his father-in-law, “Thy daughter I shall not marry,” the father of that daughter shall take to himself whatsoever was brought.

CLX. *Engagement broken by Parent.*—If a man has caused a present to be brought to the house of his father-in-law, and given a dowry, and the father-in-law shall say, “My daughter I will not give thee,” whatever property was brought he shall account for and restore.

CLXI. *Broken Engagement by Scandal.*—If a man has caused a present to be brought to his father-in-law, and has given a dowry, and his friend has spoken calumny of him, and his father-in-law to the betrothed has said, “My daughter thou shalt not espouse,” all the property that was brought he shall account for and restore, but his friend shall not marry the (girl).

CLXII. *Deceased Wife's Property her Children's.*—If a man has married a wife and borne children, and that woman has gone to her fate (died), in regard to her marriage portion her father has no claim; her marriage portion is for her children.

CLXIII. *If childless, Dowry returned to Father.*—If a man has married a wife and she has not presented him with children, when she has gone to her fate, if her dowry which that man sent to the house of his father-in-law has been returned to him, in regard to the marriage portion of that woman her husband has no claim; her marriage portion belongs to her father's house.

CLXIV. *Dowry to be deducted.*—If his father-in-law

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has not returned him the dowry, he shall deduct the dowry from the marriage portion, and shall return her marriage portion to her father's house.

CLXV. *Favourite Son's Gifts.*—If a man to the son who is first in his eyes a field, garden, or house has given, and has a legal deed written him, afterwards when the father has gone to his fate, when the brothers divide, the present his father gave him he shall take, and in addition in the property of his father's house he shall share equally.

CLXVI. *Bride-price for Youngest Son.*—If a man for the sons he possesses has taken wives, but for his youngest son has not taken a wife, and afterwards the father has gone to his fate, at the time when the brothers divide, from the property of the father's house to their little brother who has not a wife, besides his portion, the money for a bride-price they shall assign to him, that he may take a wife.

CLXVII. *Children of Second Wife's Share.*—If a man has taken a wife, and she has borne him children, and that woman has gone to her fate, and afterwards to another woman he has married himself, and she has borne children also,—after the father has gone to his fate the children according to their mothers shall not share; they shall take the marriage portion of their mothers, and divide the property of the paternal house equally.

CLXVIII. *Disinheritance only by Legal Authority.*—If a man has set his face to cut off his son, and to the judge has said, "I will cut off my son," the judge regarding the matter shall inquire; if the son a great crime, which entails cutting off of sonship, has not committed, the father shall not cut off the sonship of his son.

CLXIX. *If proved guilty, disinherited.*—If he has committed a serious crime against his father, one which entails cutting off of sonship, the judge for the first time shall turn his face (overlook); but if he has committed a serious crime for the second time, the father shall cut his son off from his sonship.

CLXX. *Children of Maid, if recognized, entitled to Share.*—If to a man his wife has borne children, and his maidservant also has borne him children, and the father in his lifetime to the children has said "My sons," and with the sons of his wife has counted them, after the father has gone to his fate, in the property of the paternal house the sons of the wife and the sons of the maidservant shall share equally, but the sons of the wife shall choose and take (first choice).

CLXXI. *If unrecognized, shall not take Share, but be free with Life Interest.*—If the father in his lifetime to the sons which the maidservant bore him has not said "My sons," after the father has gone to his fate, the sons of the maidservant shall not share in the property of the paternal house with the sons of the wife. They shall establish for the maidservant and her children freedom; the sons of the wife have no claim on the children of the maidservant for service. The wife shall take the marriage portion and the settlements which her husband gave her, and on tablet wrote for her, and in the dwelling of her husband she shall live, as long as she lives. For money she may not sell anything; after her it is the sons'.

CLXXII. *Husband leaving no Will.*—If the husband gave her no settlement, they shall give her complete marriage portion, and she shall take of the property of her husband's house a portion like one son. If her sons to leave the house would force her, the judge regarding



this shall make inquiry, and then on the sons shall lay the blame, that woman from the house of her husband shall not go out. If, however, that woman has set her face to leave, the settlement which her husband gave her she shall deposit, the wedding portion from her father's house she shall take, and she may marry the husband of her choice.

CLXXIII. *Future Children share Marriage Portion with First Family.*—If that woman in the place where she has entered to her late husband bare children, after that woman has died, the former and later children shall divide her wedding portion.

CLXXIV. *Childless Second Husband inherits.*—If she has not borne to her later husband, the sons of her spouse shall take the marriage portion.

CLXXV. *Marriage of Freewoman and Slave; Children free.*—If a palace servant or the slave of a poor man has taken to wife the daughter of a freeman, the owner of the slave shall have no claim on the sons of the daughter of the freeman for service.

CLXXVI. *Marriage of Freewoman and Slave; Division of Property.*—If a palace servant or slave of a poor man take in marriage the daughter of a freeman, and with the share of the marriage portion of her father's house she entered into the house of the palace servant or slave of a poor man, and from the time when they made a home and acquired property, after the palace servant or slave of a poor man to his fate has gone, the daughter of the freeman shall take her marriage portion, and whatever property her husband and she herself have acquired from the time they were together, she shall divide in two portions; the owner of the slave shall take one portion, the daughter of the freeman shall take the other half for her children.

RE-MARRIAGE OF A WIDOW: CHILDREN WARDS IN  
CHANCERY.

CLXXVII. If a widow, whose children are young, has set her face to enter the house of another, without the consent of a judge she may not enter. When she enters into the house of another, the judge regarding the house of her former husband shall inquire, the house of her former husband to her later husband and that woman he shall entrust, and cause them to deposit a deed, and the young children they shall bring up. But a utensil they shall not give for money; the buyer who has bought a utensil of the widow's children shall lose his money, and shall return the property to the owners.

RIGHTS OF VOTARIES, ETC.

CLXXVIII. *Property of a Votary inalienable.*—If a votary or a vowed woman (*hierata*) whose father has granted her a marriage portion, and has written her a deed, and in the deed he has written her after her in regard to what is upon her, it is free to give, has not written, after her father has gone to his fate, her field or garden her brothers shall take, and, according to the value of her share, corn, oil, or wool shall give her and satisfy her heart. If her brothers according to her share corn, oil, or wool have not given her, and have not satisfied her heart, her field or garden to a farmer whosoever pleases her she shall give; her farmer shall provide for her. The field or garden, or whatsoever her father has given her, she shall enjoy as long as she lives. For money she shall not sell it; she shall not assign it to another; her sonship (right of inheritance) is her brothers'.

CLXXIX. *Property of a Votary: Power to dispose.*—

If a votary or a hierata, whose father has granted her a marriage portion, and has given her a written deed, and upon the tablet which he has written in regard to her that whatever she has she is free to give, and has allowed her all her choice, after the father has gone to his fate, in regard to whatever is good to her her brothers have no claim on her.

CLXXX. *Undowered Votary takes Son's Share.*—If a father to his daughter, a votary, a bride, or a hierata, has not given a marriage portion, after the father has gone to his fate, of the property of the paternal house a portion equivalent to one son shall share, as long as she lives she shall enjoy it ; after her it is her brothers'.

CLXXXI. *Vowed Woman's Share.*—If a father a vowed woman, or a hierodule, or a virgin, has dedicated to a god, and has not given her a marriage portion, after the father has gone to his fate, she shall share in the goods of her father's house at the rate of one-third of a sonship share, and shall enjoy it as long as she lives ; after her it is her brothers'.

CLXXXII. *Woman dedicated to Merodach free to act.*—If a father to his daughter, who is dedicated to Merodach, has not granted a marriage portion, and has not written her a deed, after her father has gone to his fate, she shall share with her brothers in the property of the parental home, as one-third of a sonship's share, and shall pay no tax ; a votary of Merodach after her can bequeath as pleases her.

CLXXXIII. *Child of a Concubine, if dowered, no Claim.*—If a man a child by a concubine has given a marriage portion, and has given her to a husband, and has written her a legal deed, after the father has gone to

his fate, in the property of her father's house she shall not share.

CLXXXIV. *Child of a Concubine can claim Dowry.*—If a father to his daughter by a concubine has not granted a marriage portion, or has not provided her with a husband, after her father has gone to his fate, her brothers, according to the capacity of her father's house, shall grant her a marriage portion and provide her with a husband.

ADOPTION.

CLXXXV. *Adoption.*—If a man has taken a young child to his name, and to sonship, and brought him up, no one has any claim to that nursling.

CLXXXVI. *Adoption of Child of Living Parents.*—If a man a young child to sonship has adopted, and after he has taken him he offend his foster father and mother, then his adopted son shall return to his father's house.

CLXXXVII. *Adoption : Palace Child.*—If a man adopt the son of a courtesan of the palace, or of a harlot, he cannot be demanded back.

CLXXXVIII. *Adopted Child to be taught Trade.*—If an artisan has taken a child for rearing, and a trade for his hands has taught him, he cannot be demanded back.

CLXXXIX. If he has not taught him a trade to his hands, this adopted child may return to his father's house.

CXC. *Adopted Child must be recognized.*—If a man the young child he adopted and brought up does not estimate as with his own children, then that adopted child may return to his father's house.

CXCI. *Adopted Child cannot be dismissed without Means.*—If a man a young child has adopted to sonship and brought him up, and afterwards (that man) has

established a home, and had children (of his own), and after that wishes to cut off his adopted son, has set his face, that son shall not go his way. His adoptive father, of his wealth, one-third of a son's portion shall give him; field, garden, or house he shall not give him.

**CXCII. *Adoption of Palace Child.***—If the son of a courtesan or a harlot to his adoptive father or mother shall say, "You are not my father or mother," his tongue they shall cut out.

**CXCIII. *Palace Child cannot desert Adoptive Parents.***—If the son of a courtesan or a harlot know his father's house, and shall desert his adoptive father and mother and goes to his father's house, his eye they shall tear out.

**CXCIV. *Foster-mother may not substitute Child.***—If a man give his son to a wet-nurse and the child die in her hands, but (then) without the knowledge of his father or his mother another child take to her breast, they shall convict her of having taken to her breast another child without the knowledge of its father or mother; her breasts they shall cut off.

#### ASSAULT.

**CXCV. *Assault on Father.***—If a man smite his father, his hands shall be cut off.

**CXCVI. *Eye for an Eye.***—If a man destroy the eye of a man, his eye they shall put out.

**CXCVII. *Bone for Bone.***—If he break the bone of another man, his bone they shall break.

**CXCVIII. *Freed Man injured.***—If he put out the eye of a freed man, or break the bone of a freed man, he shall pay one mana of silver.

**CXCIX. *Injury to a Slave.***—If he put out the eye of

the slave of a man, or break the bone of a man's slave, he shall pay one-half its value.

CC. *Injury to Equal (lex talionis)*.—If a man knock out the teeth of one his equal, his teeth shall be knocked out.

CCI. *Injury to Freed Man*.—If he knock out the teeth of a freed man, he shall pay one-third of a silver mana.

CCII. *Assault Laws*.—If a man strike the head\* of a man who is his superior, he shall receive sixty blows of an ox-hide whip in public.

CCIII. If a free man strike the head of a free man equal to himself, he shall pay one mana of silver.

CCIV. If a freed man strike the head of a freed man, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

CCV. If the slave of a freed man strike a freed man, his ear shall be cut off.

CCVI. *Unintentional Assault*.—If during a quarrel a man has struck another and a wound has inflicted, and he shall swear, "Intentionally, I did not strike him," he shall pay the doctor.

CCVII. *Death of Injured Man*.—If (that man) of his assault dies, and he swears as above, if it was a free man, one half-mana of silver he shall pay.

CCVIII. If it was a freed man, he shall pay one-third of a mana of silver.

CCIX.—*Assault on Females*.—If a man strike a free-born woman and she drop that which is in her womb, he shall pay ten shekels of silver for that which was in her womb.

CCX. But if the woman die, his daughter shall be put to death.

CCXI. If a woman of the freed class lose that which

\* *Lîet*, "strength"; here "head or brain."

is in her womb by a blow, he shall pay five shekels of silver.

CCXII. If the woman die, he shall pay half a mana of silver.

CCXIII. *Maid-servant assaulted.*—If he strike the maid-servant of a man, and she drop that which is in her womb, he shall pay two shekels of silver.

CCXIV. If that maidservant die, he shall pay one-third of a mana of silver.

#### LAWS REGARDING DOCTORS.

CCXV. If a doctor has made a large incision with a bronze lance and cured a man, or has opened the abscess (in the eye) with the lance, and saved the eye of the man, ten shekels of silver he shall take.

CCXVI. If it was a freed man, five shekels of silver he takes.

CCXVII. If it was the slave of a freed man, the master of the slave shall give two shekels of silver to the doctor.

CCXVIII. *Unsuccessful Treatment.*—If a doctor has made a large incision with a bronze lance, and has caused the man to die, or opened an abscess with the lance, and has put out the eye, his hands shall be cut off.

CCXIX. If the doctor make a large incision in the slave of a freed man and kill him, he shall render slave for slave.

CCXX. If he has opened his abscess with a lance and put out his eye, money to half his price he shall pay.

CCXXI.—*Broken Limbs, etc.*—If a doctor heal the broken limb of a man, or cure a diseased bowel, the patient shall pay five shekels of silver to the doctor.

CCXXII. If it was a freed man, he shall pay three shekels.

CCXXIII. If he was a slave, the owner shall pay two shekels of silver.

CCXXIV. *Veterinary Surgeons.*—If a doctor of oxen or asses a large incision has made, and cured (them), the owner of the ox or ass shall give him one-sixth of a shekel as fee.

CCXXV. If a doctor make a large incision in an ox or ass, and cause it to die, he shall pay the owner one-fourth of its value.

CCXXVI. *Barber Surgeons.*—If a barber surgeon, without the consent of the owner, the mark upon a slave not for sale has branded, the hands of the barber surgeon shall be cut off.

CCXXVII. If any one deceive a barber surgeon, and cause him to brand a slave not for sale with the mark, he shall be put to death, and burned in his house. If the barber surgeon shall swear, "Knowingly I did not brand him," he shall be free.

#### BUILDING LAWS.

CCXXVIII. If a builder builds a house for a man, and completes it, he shall pay two shekels of silver for each *sar* of surface.

CCXXIX. If a builder build a house for a man, and has not made his work strong, and the house has fallen in and killed the owner of the house, then that builder shall be put to death.

CCXXX. If it kill the son of the owner of the house, the son of that builder they shall kill.

CCXXXI. If it kill the slave of the owner of the



house, a slave equivalent to that slave, to the owner of the house he shall give.

CCXXXII. If the property of the owner of the house it destroys, whatsoever it destroys he shall make good; and as regards the house he built and it fell, with his own property he shall rebuild the ruined house.

CCXXXIII. If he build a house for a man, and did not set his work, and the walls topple over, that builder from his own money shall make that wall strong.

#### SHIP AND BOAT LAWS.

CCXXXIV. If a shipwright a vessel of 60 gur has caulked for a man, two shekels of silver for his work he shall give him.

CCXXXV. If a shipbuilder a ship for a man has built, and has not perfected his work, and in that year that ship is sent on a voyage, and it has shown faults, the boatbuilder that vessel shall take to pieces, and at his own expense make strong, and the strong ship he shall give to the owner.

CCXXXVI. *Hired Ships*.—If a man has given his boat on hire to a man, and the boatman is careless and has grounded the ship, or it has been destroyed, the boatman shall repay ship for ship to the shipowner.

CCXXXVII. *Ship and Cargo lost*.—If a man hire a boatman and a ship, and with corn, wool, oil, or dates, or anything whatsoever as freight it is freighted, and that boatman is careless, and the ship goes aground or is lost, that boatman the ship which went ashore and the cargo that was in her which was lost shall make good.

CCXXXVIII. *Shipwreck*.—If a man has sunk the

ship of another man, and has refloated her, money to one-half her price he shall pay.

CCXXXIX. *Hire of Boatman.*—If a man has hired a boatman, six gur of corn (48 bushels) he shall pay him per year.

CCXL. *Collision.*—If a market-boat has struck a ferry-boat and sunk her, the owner of the boat that has been sunk, whatever he has lost in the ship, shall account before God, and he of the market-boat which sank the ferry-boat his boat and all that he lost shall make good to him.

OX COMMANDEERED.

CCXLI. If a man commandeer an ox, he shall pay one-third of a mana of silver.

HIRING.

CCXLII. *Hire of Plough Oxen.*—If a man plough oxen, he shall pay four gur (32 bushels) of corn for the year.

CCXLIII. *Hire of Milch Cattle.*—If a man hire milch kine, he shall pay three gur of corn (24 bushels) to the owner.

CCXLIV. *Animal Slain by a Lion.*—If a man has hired an ox or an ass, and a lion kill it in the open field, the loss is the owner's.

CCXLV. *Death by Negligence or Cruelty.*—If a man hire an ox, and by neglect or blows has caused it to die, ox for ox to the owner of the ox he shall render.

CCXLVI. *Injury to Animal.*—If a man hire an ox, and he break its leg or cuts the nape of the neck, ox for ox to the owner of the ox he shall render.

CCXLVII. *Ox blinded.*—If a man hire an ox, and he puts out its eye, he shall pay to the owner of the ox one-half its value.

CCXLVIII. *Injury to Horn, Tail, etc.*—If a man hire an ox, and breaks its horn, cuts its tail, or cuts its nostril, one-fourth of its price to the owner he shall pay.

CCXLIX. "*Death by Act of God.*"—If a man hire an ox, and God has smitten it and it has died, the man who hired it shall swear by the name of God, and shall go free.

CCL. *Accidental Goring.*—If a bull in his course has gored a man, and caused him to die, there is no crime in that case.

CCLI. "*Knowledge of Goring.*"—If the ox has pushed a man, and by pushing has made known his vice, and his horn has not been blunted, or the ox has not been chained up, and the ox gore a freeborn man, and kill him, half a shekel of silver he shall pay.

CCLII. *Injury to Servant.*—If the servant of a freeman (is injured), one-third of a mana of silver he shall pay.

#### "LAWS OF TENANCY."

CCLIII. *Metayer System of Lease.*—If a man has hired another to reside on his field, and corn and plants and a yoke of oxen to cultivate the field has entrusted to him, if that man steal the corn or the plants and to his own possession has taken, his hand shall be cut off.

CCLIV. *Stealing Seed, etc.*—If he has taken the seed-corn and neglected the yoke of oxen, for the seed-corn he shall make good.

CCLV. *Appropriation to own Use, and Neglect.*—If he has given the yoke of oxen to hire, and stolen the seed-corn, and has not caused it to grow in the field, that man

shall be called to account, and he shall pay sixty gur of corn for each 100 feddan of land.

CCLVI. *Hard Labour for Non-payment.*—If his governor cannot raise the compensation, in that field with the yoke of oxen he shall be put to work.

CCLVII. *Hire of Harvester.*—If a man hire a harvester, he shall give him eight gur (64 bushels) of corn for the year. ✓

CCLVIII. *Hire of Ox-driver.*—If a man hire an ox-driver, six gur (48 bushels) of corn he shall give him for the year. ✓

CCLIX. *Theft of Shaddoof.*—If a man shall steal a shaddoof from the land, five shekels of silver to the owner of the shaddoof he shall pay.

CCLX. *Theft of Bucket or Plough.*—If a man steal a water-bucket or a plough, three shekels of silver he shall pay.

CCLXI. *Hire of Herdsman or Shepherd.*—If a man hire a herdsman for the cattle, or for sheep a shepherd, eight gur (64 bushels) of corn for the year he shall pay. ✓

CCLXII. (Broken).

CCLXIII. *Loss of Cattle.*—If a man an ox or sheep which has been entrusted to him shall lose, ox for ox and sheep for sheep to their master he shall make good.

CCLXIV. *Losses to be made good.*—If a herdsman, who has had oxen or sheep given him to tend, and who has received his wages, and his heart is satisfied, has diminished the oxen or sheep, or lessened the offspring, according to the terms of his bond, offspring and increase he shall give.

CCLXV. *Fraudulent Returns.*—If a shepherd to whom oxen or sheep have been given to tend has falsified and

changed their value, or sold for money, that one shall be called to account, and he shall make good to owner ten times the loss.

CCLXVI. *Loss by Lions or Accident.*—If in the bond an act of God has taken place, or a lion kill (an animal), the shepherd, before God, shall declare his innocence, and the accident to the fold the owner must face it.

CCLXVII. *Loss by Negligence.*—If the shepherd has been negligent, and in the fold an accident happen, the shepherd is at fault for the accident which happened in the fold to oxen and sheep; he shall make good, and give to their master.

CCLXVIII. *Hire of Threshing-ox.*—If a man hire an ox for threshing, twenty *ka* of corn is the price.

CCLXIX. *Hire of Ass.*—If a man hire an ass for threshing, ten *ka* of corn is the price.

CCLXX. *Hire of Young Animal.*—If a man hire a young animal for threshing, its hire is ten *ka* of corn.

CCLXXI. *Oxen, Cart, and Driver Hire.*—If a man hire a yoke of oxen, a cart, and driver, he shall pay 180 *ka* of corn per day.

CCLXXII. *Hire of Cart only.*—If a man hire a cart only, he shall pay forty *ka* of corn per day.

CCLXXIII. *Day Labourer's Hire.*—If a man hire a day labourer, from the beginning of the year until the fifth month he shall give six SE of silver per day, from the fifth month to the end of the year he shall give five SE of silver per day.

CCLXXIV. *Hire of Artisan Labour.*—If any one hire an artisan he shall pay—

1. For a . . . he shall pay 5 SE of silver.
2. For a brick-maker he shall pay 5 SE of silver.
3. For a weaver he shall pay 5 SE of silver.

4. For a . . . he shall pay 5 . . . .
5. For a . . . he shall pay . . . .
6. For . . . .
7. For a carpenter, 4 SE of silver he shall pay.
8. For a ropemaker, 4 SE of silver he shall pay.
9. . . . .
10. . . . .
11. For a builder

CCLXXV. *Hire of Boat*.—If a man hire a boat, his hire per day is 3 SE of silver.

CCLXXVI. *Hire of Market-boat*.—If a man hire a market-boat, he shall pay  $2\frac{1}{2}$  SE per day.

CCLXXVII. *Hire of Ship*.—If a man hire a ship of 60 gur (480 bushels), for each day he shall pay one-sixth of a shekel.

CCLXXVIII. *Sickness of Servant*.—If a man has purchased a male or female servant, and before he has completed his month (trial) the *bennu* disease has smitten him, to the seller he shall return him, and the purchaser the money he paid he shall receive.

CCLXXIX. *Claim by Third Party*.—If a man has purchased a male or female slave, and one (a third party) makes a claim, the vendor must satisfy the claim.

CCLXXX. *Slave purchased Abroad*.—If a man has purchased, while in a foreign land, a male or female slave from another, and when he has arrived (within his own) land the owner of the male or female slave has identified his male or female slave, if the male or female slave be a native of the land, without price he shall grant, release them.

CCLXXXI. *If Foreigners*.—If, however, they are natives of another land, the purchaser, in the presence of God, shall declare the money he paid, and the owner of

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the male or female slave shall give to the merchant the money he paid, and keep his male or female slave.

CCLXXXII. *Repudiation of Owner.*—If a slave say to his master, "Thou art not my master," as his servant he shall charge him, and (then) his master may cut off his ear.

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### EPILOGUE.

The laws of righteousness which Khammurabi the mighty king had established, and whereby he caused the land to learn a pious law and firm statute.

"Khammurabi, the benefactor king, I am he. From the people whom Bel entrusted to me to rule them, and whom Marduk gave me, I did not withdraw myself; I was not one who turned away himself. I made for them a peaceful resting-place; I made clear their difficulties, and enlightened them. With mighty weapons, which Zamana and Istar conferred upon me, with the clear intelligence with which Ea endowed me, with the power which Marduk gave me, the foes above and below (north and south) I swept away, and subdued the land, and the state of the land I made happy, and caused the people in their dwellings to rest in security, and a disturber existed not.

"I am he whom the great gods proclaimed. I am the salvation-giving shepherd, whose sceptre is a right sceptre (Ps. xlv. 6), the beneficent shadow which overspreads my city; on my heart I fold the people of Sumir and Akkad; in my spirit let them repose in peace. By my deep wisdom I directed them, so that the strong

should not injure the weak, and to protect the widows and orphans (Ex. xxii. 22 ; Deut. x. 18).

“In Babylon, the city where Marduk and Bel raise their heads, in E. Saggil, the temple of which its foundation is firm as heaven or earth, to guide judgment in the land, and to enact edicts in the land, and to make straight wrong, my precious words upon my stele I wrote, and before my statute as King of Righteousness, I placed it. The king who rules among the kings of cities, I am he. My words are precious ; my power has no equal. By command of Samas, the great judge of heaven and earth, let righteousness be glorified in the land ; by the decree of Marduk my lord, my sculptures.

“In E. Saggil, which I love, let my name be favourably mentioned unto all time. The oppressed one who has a case at law, before my statute as King of Righteousness let him come, and my inscribed stele let him read, and ponder on my precious words ; my stele shall make his case clear to him ; his right he will see, and his heart will be glad. (Then shall he say) Khammurabi is a master who is like unto a father who begat his people, who is attentive to the words of Marduk his lord, who has achieved triumph above and below for Marduk, and made joyful the heart of Marduk his lord, and prosperity to all time has conferred on his subjects, and has established justice in the land.

“Let him say in the presence of Marduk my lord, and Zirat-panit my lady, with full heart let him draw near in prayer ; then shall the protecting genii and the gods who enter E. Saggil regard with favour the designs which each day before Marduk my lord and Zirat-panit my lady are presented.

“In future time and days to come, the king who shall



be in the land, the righteous words which upon my stele I have written may he observe ; the law I adjudged the land, the edicts I enacted for the people, let him not change ; and my sculptures let him not obliterate.

“If that man possesses reverence, and rules his land aright, let him attend to the words which upon my stele I wrote. The rule, statute, and the law of the land which I have given, the edicts I have enacted for the land, this stele shall reveal to him, that he may direct the people (blackheads), that he may adjudge their laws and enact their edicts, and from his land obliterate plaintiff and defendant, and make his people happy.

“I am Khammurabi, the righteous king on whom Samas has conferred law. My words are precious ; my actions have no equal to bring low the exalted, to humble the proud, and drive out insolence. If that man attends to my words which I have written on my stele, and annuls not my law, nor changes my words, nor injures my sculpture, like unto myself may Samas prolong his reign as King of Righteousness, and may he guide his people in justice.

“If that man my words which upon my stele I wrote attends not to, and the curses he forgets and the curse of God he fears not, and the law I gave he destroys, my words he changes, and injures my sculptures, the writing of my name erases, and writes his own name ; or as regards those curses another causes to act, that man, whether he be king, lord, or viceroy, or any man, whatever he be called, may the great God, the father of the gods who proclaimed my reign, may he take from him the splendour of sovereignty, and break his sceptre, and curse his destiny.

“Bel, the lord who casteth destiny, whose command

cannot be changed, who has made my kingdom great, order a rebellion which his hand cannot control ; devastation against his throne may he pour out ; a reign of misery, days of scarcity, years of famine, deep darkness without light, and death with seeing eyes, as his fate may he award him. The destruction of his city, the dispersion of his people, the cutting off of his rule, and the obliteration of his name and his memorial, may he declare.

“ May Belit, the great mother, whose command is great in E. Kur, the lady who favours my petitions, in the place of judgment and decision, in the presence of Bel, make his commands nil, and sweep with destruction his land, and destroy his people, and pour out his life like water. This, by the word of Bel the king, may it be established.

“ Ea, the mighty prince, whose decrees of destiny are predestined, the adviser of the gods, who knoweth all things, who prolongeth the days of my life, turn understanding and wisdom from him, and lead him to forgetfulness, and cut off his rivers at their fountain-heads, and in his land the corn-god the sustenance of his people not produce.

“ Samas, the great judge of heaven and earth, who directs the affairs of life, the lord of confidence, shatter his sovereignty and annul his law, and destroy his way, and bring to naught the march of his hosts.

“ In his visions may there be for him evil omens of the destruction of the throne of his sovereignty and the ruin of his land. May the evil decree of Samas swiftly seize him here above in life and below in the earth ; may his soul be deprived of water.

“ Sun, the lord of heaven, the divine creator, whose rays give light unto the gods, the crown and throne of his sovereignty cut off ; heavy sin and great wickedness which

from his body none can eradicate. Each day, month by month, may the years of his reign be filled with sighing and tears ; as a burden may his royalty increase to him ; a life that joined unto death as his fate may he award him.

“ Adad, the lord of fertility, the proprietor of heaven and earth, my supporter, the rain from heaven, the floods in spring withhold and destroy his land with want and famine ; may he rage in anger over his city, and turn his land to deluge heaps.

“ The god Zamama, the great warrior, the firstborn son of E. Kur, who goeth on my right hand, break his weapons on the battlefield ; may he turn day into night for him, and exalt his enemy over him.

“ May Istar, the lady of war and battle, who draws my weapons, my gracious guardian spirit, who loves my rule, in her angry heart and great rage may she curse his kingdom, and change his good fortune to evil. On field of war and battle may she break his weapons ; may she create trouble and rebellion for him, strike down his warriors, so that the earth drinks their blood, and heaps of the corpses of his army on the field may she heap up ; may his soldiers never have graves !

“ That one may she deliver him into the hand of his enemy, and to the land of his foe as a prisoner may he go.

“ May Nergal, the strong one among the gods, the one whose warring is unrivalled, who accompanied my triumph, in his great might, like a raging fire of reeds burn up his people ; with his mighty weapons cut off his limbs, and break him in pieces like an image of clay. May Niu Tu, the noble lady of the lands, the creatress, deny him a son, and never preserve a name to him, and among his people a descendant may he not beget.

"Nin Karrak, the daughter of Anu, who is herald of my good favour in E. Kur, a great disease and evil fever, severe wounds which cannot be healed, and no physician within his land knows, and no bandage can remove, and which like the kiss of death cannot be wiped off until his life is poured out.

"For his virility may he weep, and the great gods of heaven and earth and the assembled Annunaki. . . . That one his rule, his land, his soldiers, his people, and his troops, with a terrible curse may they curse. With potent curses may Bel, whose command changes not, curse him, and quickly may they seize him."

## CHAPTER IX

### THE BEGINNINGS OF LITERATURE

**B**ABYLONIA, like ancient Egypt, was a land of scribes, but it differed from the sister civilization in one important respect. In Egypt the scribe, or educated man, was essentially an official, and it is very doubtful, indeed, if the general body of the people were able to read or write. In Babylonia, to write, and consequently to read, was a duty imposed on all except the lowest classes of the people. Among the duties imposed upon the parent was that of having his son taught to write; and ample proof is afforded that there were regular schools and colleges attached to most of the temples in Babylonia—certainly at Borsippa, Nippur, and Larsa. Another proof that the majority of the Babylonian people possessed some of the elements of education is afforded by the large number of contracts, letters, memoranda, and even jottings which have been discovered, and the variety of hand-writings they exhibit.

Turning to the traditions preserved by Berosus, we see how this Greco-Chaldean priest-scribe emphasizes the continuity of literary tradition and record in Chaldea. Oannes (Ea) taught men the art of letters, and prior to the deluge the god Bel appeared to Xisuthrus and ordered him to bury all ancient records in Sippara. These records

were dug up after the deliverance, and so the literary tradition was preserved.

The selection of Sippara, "Pantabiblos," the book city, as the Greek writer calls it, is probably due to the fact that the writer confused Sippara with *Sepher*, "a book."

So essentially was a literary age associated with prosperity in Chaldea, that the writer of a curious poem describes a period of confusion and anarchy in the land by the words, "On a tablet nought was written; nought was there left to record."

All doubt as to the literary character of the ancient inhabitants of Chaldea is now removed, and the result has far exceeded the wildest dreams of Orientalists.

At the beginning of the last century what a by-word was the East. The iconoclastic school of Niebuhr on the Continent, and Sir George Cornwall Lewis in this country, had wrecked the foundations of all that constituted the beginnings of history and culture. The gods had not fought together with men on the plains of Troy, hence all that was chronicled in Homer was myth and fiction, with no substratum of historic fact. The culture and civilization of Troy and Mykenæ, described by the Hellenic bard, were but figments of the poet's brain. There was to this school nothing trustworthy regarding Greece before the age of Thucydides.

If the traditions of the classic nations were thus ruthlessly dethroned, how little consideration could be extended to the dark, mysterious East, the home of myth and fable. The scepticism of Voltaire and others had made laughing-stock of Hebrew traditions, and above all was the deeply engrained doctrine that the East was an unlettered land; and how could nations who had no writing possess a literature? Even if such should happen to be the

case, what credence could be attached to the products of minds not trained according to classic canons?

True, it must be said, that the literary products of the East merited but scant confidence, being such works as the "Shah-Nameh," or the "Arabian Nights." An age that accepted the reading of a Ptolemaic inscription on the walls of Denderah, as representing the Hundredth Psalm, or an inscription of Senefru on the rocks of Sinai, as a record of the feeding of the Hebrews with quails, was hardly qualified to judge of Oriental literature.

How different is the picture now. The magic touch of the spade has rescued from the grave-mounds of buried cities, from temple, tomb, and pyramid, the monuments of a past extending far beyond the age of Homer or Moses. Schliemann has proved the reality of the Golden Age of Troy and Mykenæ; while from the palace of Knossos Dr. Arthur Evans has brought the memorials of the age of Minos and his Minotaur, and solved the mysteries of the Kretan labyrinth.

If archæology has thus triumphed in proving the antiquity of Hellenic and pre-Hellenic civilization, what has it done for the much maligned East?

To speak of the East as unlettered is, indeed, an error. From the dark mounds of Assyria and Chaldea the explorer has brought forth the memorials, not of a few mighty rulers, or the votive inscriptions of some single temple, but the history of long-forgotten empires, the chronicles of kings, the legal codes of the oldest courts, the private papers of the people, and the contents of libraries older by many centuries than the age of Abram. It is not the literature of the lettered few, the initiated, that comes to us in these strange clay tablets—it tells of the affairs of men,

from the king on his throne to the beggar in the street. It embraces within its scope the bill of a Chaldean tradesman, or classics which constitute the first editions of the



DEMONS FIGHTING.

cosmogonies of Moses or Hesiod, or the tales of Greek mythology.

Speaking generally, the Babylonians were far more a literary people than the Egyptians. The literature of Egypt was essentially religious, the major part of it embodied in



works associated with the Book of the Dead or with temple ritual; and only some few specimens of fiction, some love poems, and a considerable amount of moral literature in the form of aphorisms, belong to the class of secular literature. Unlike the Babylonians, the Egyptians had no national epic, or, indeed, any cycle poems. Their magical literature was so esoteric that it lacked any literary merits, while that of Babylonia often is extremely poetic.

The earliest literature of Chaldea, like most other elements in Babylonian literature, was of Sumerian origin; and this is especially the case with the magical and scientific literature and much of the hymnology, but by no means so large a quantity as some writers would have us believe.

The religion of the Sumerians was a form of Animism, and a belief that all objects in nature were the abodes of spiritual forms, which could only be controlled by invoking the aid of the more powerful spirits, such as the dominant spirits of Heaven and Earth. For such a creed the natural priesthood would be magicians, who knew the spells and exorcisms that would compel the spirits to obey. These spells would be gradually embodied in the form of magical litanies, and form a regular liturgy of magic. The chief centre of this learning was the ancient city of Eridu, and the spells of that city and the incantations of Ea were deemed the most potent. A most valuable series of the tablets containing these ancient formulæ have been published by the Trustees of the British Museum,\* and translations of them have been published by Mr. J. Campbell Thompson, in his work on "Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia." As a typical example, the following may be selected:—

\* Selected Inscriptions, Parts XVI., XVII.

" The evil spirits are raging storms ;  
 Fearless spirits created in the vault of heaven ;  
 Workers of evil are they,  
 Raising their evil heads each day for evil,  
 To spread destruction.  
 Of these seven, the first is the south wind.  
 The second the dragon with mouth agape, which none can (face) ;  
 The third an angry leopard, that carries away the (young) ;  
 The fifth is a furious beast ;  
 The sixth is a rampant (beast), which opposes god and king ;  
 The seventh is an evil storm-wind.  
 These seven are the envoys of Anu the king.  
 From city to city they carry gloom ;  
 Tempests that furiously sweep the heavens ;  
 Dense clouds that bring gloom over the sky ;  
 Whirling winds, casting darkness over the bright day.  
 Forcing their way with evil windstorms,  
 Mighty destroyers are they, the deluge of the Storm-god.  
 On the right hand of the Storm-god they march ;  
 In the height of heaven like lightning they flash ;  
 To spread destruction they go in front.  
 In the widespread heaven, the dwelling of Anu the king,  
 They take their stand with evil intent, and have no rival.  
 When Bel heard this news, he pondered in his heart ;  
 With Ea, the supreme counsellor of the gods, he took counsel,  
 And Sin, Samas, and Istar,  
 Whom the firmament of heaven to rule he had appointed.  
 Of Anu, dividing among them the dominion of the heavenly host,  
 These three gods his offspring  
 He ordained to stand by day and night, not failing.  
 When the seven evil gods  
 Forced their way into heaven's vault,  
 Angrily they clustered around the Moon's disk,  
 And brought to their aid Samas and Adad (Sun and Storm)."

Here the text is much broken, but resumes—

" Sin was troubled and sate in gloom ;  
 By night and day he was dark,  
 Nor dwelt (visible) in his seat of rule.  
 The evil gods, the messengers of Anu the king,  
 Raising their heads, went to and fro through the night,  
 Pondering on wickedness.  
 From the midst of heaven like the wind they rushed over the land.

Bel saw the darkening of the hero Sin in heaven,  
And then the lord spake to his minister Nusku—  
O minister Nusku, carry my message to the Ocean ;  
Tell Ea in the Ocean  
The tidings of my son Sin (Moon),  
Who in heaven is grievously bedimmed."

There are many more lines of this text, but enough has been quoted to show that we have to deal with a very interesting legend. The story of the seven evil spirits who attack the Moon is manifestly the Babylonian magical tale, which has been woven round a lunar eclipse ; it is but another form of a belief current in China, Burma, and many other lands, that when the Moon or Sun are eclipsed they are attacked by dragons and demons, who, unless driven away, will devour the orb. It is interesting to find so complete a version of this myth of such antiquity, for this text, in its oldest form, is probably to be placed at least B.C. 1500.

The magic and demonology of the Babylonians was very ancient, and belongs to the earliest periods of the history of the people. In the time of Gudea (B.C. 2800) we find references to the dread of witches and others who were turned out of the city when the king laid the foundation of his temple.

Babylonia, more than Egypt, was the home of the black arts—the birthplace of magic and sorcery. It was from the Chaldean soothsayers and magicians that the Jews derived their elements of the beliefs in demons, witches, and wizards, which found their way into Europe in mediæval times. The Greeks, Syrian Christians, and the Arabs all drank at the same stream of occultism, and it is especially interesting to have now access to the original sources from which they drew. The Babylonian, like the modern Hindoo, believed that side by side with

the spirits of light was a dread army of dark beings, "the black gods," as he calls them, who were ever at war with him. These terrible beings were all more or less associated with the dead—the ghosts, the restless and uncared-for souls, the vampires, phantoms of the night, and the uncanny ghouls and evil spirits that haunted the desert, deserted buildings, and caves in the rock. Like the Egyptians, the Babylonians believed that the soul uncared for, whose funeral offerings were not provided, would come forth and haunt men, demanding their dues. Thus in one spell we read, "Whether thou art the ghost of one unburied, or a ghost that none careth for, with none to make offerings for it, that hath none to pour out libations for it, or the ghost of one that hath no posterity." The neglected souls had to feed "on the dregs of the cup, the leavings of the feast, or that which was cast into the gutter;" hence the belief that at night the cities were filled with restless spirits, seeking sustenance where they could find it, and ready to pounce on any stray wanderer. This belief is correct to the present day. The uncared-for dead were a terrible army—those who had died in prison or had been lost in the dread marshes, or the neglected dead on the battlefield. More feared were the female ghosts, the women who died in child-bed, or while nursing their child; or young people of marriageable age who have died. In this class we find the female ghost Lilitu, the Lilith of Talmudic folklore, the demon wife of Adam, to whom she bore a family of spirit children. Very curious is the belief that the ghosts of unmarried women wander about, never resting, in search of some one who will be captivated by their charms. In these beautiful demons we have the origin of the female tempters of the Christian saints in the deserts and caves far from the

haunts of men. In the ceremonies and materials used in driving away or protecting a person from demons we have many acts which have survived to this day. Holy water sprinkled on the person or house was a potent charm ; hair of goats and kids, branches of date, tamarisk, and other trees. The water spell, we learn, causes the demon "to trickle away like water" while a censor or torch of pure light drives the evil spirit out of the body. Perhaps one of the most interesting of the features of this folklore of ancient Chaldea is the association between demons, diseases, and storms. The evil spirits are thus described :—

" Through the gloomy streets by night they roam,  
Smiting sheep-fold and cattle-pen.  
Rending in pieces on high ; bringing destruction below,  
They are the offspring of the under-world.  
Loudly roaring above ; gibbering below,  
They are the bitter venom of the gods.  
They are the storms directed from heaven.  
They are as owls that hoot over the city."

In regard to diseases, we learn some curious facts in folklore. The plague-god is said to "march from city to city, resting alike on the body of chief and slave." He is the own brother to the war-god, and has for his acolyte Isum ("the burner"), the god of infectious diseases. Now, in a very old folk-poem, dating about B.C. 2500, this god Isum, "the one who goes to and fro in the streets," from house to house, is said to have been born in the "gutter of the street"—a very ancient diagnosis of the origin of infectious diseases.

Many other points might be noticed, but two are especially worthy of attention. It is curious to observe how many of these tenets of Chaldean demonology appear

in the New Testament. It is the desert, the special haunt of demons, that Christ is tempted. We have the men possessed with devils in the cemetery; the man with the unclean spirit, who "taketh unto himself seven other spirits more evil than himself (Luke xi. 24). The demons hunt in sevens, hence the seven devils of the woman of the New Testament. We then can see how Jewish folklore had been influenced by that of Chaldea. The next point is the important question of date. The majority of these tablets are of Sumerian origin, dating prior to B.C. 2500, but the Semitic translations were made about B.C. 650, and some are dated as late as B.C. 204, so that in Babylonia the superstitions of magic and demonology long outlived the religion, and were eagerly adopted by Jews and Christians, and later by Mohammedans. When the Semites settled in Babylonia, which must have been at a very remote period, they eagerly adopted the learning of the Sumerians—their religion or pantheon, at least myths and folklore—but the Babylonian Semite had much material for literary use of his own. There is a large amount of Babylonian literature that shows but little influence of the Sumerian, and which for richness of symbolism and poetry may take its place beside the highest efforts of Hebrew or other Oriental literatures.

The Oriental, whether Aryan or Semite, was a born singer. To hymn the praise of heroes or the glories of the tribe, to improvise poems that would thrill and inflame the hearts of men, driving them to deeds of daring, was the Oriental form of public speaking. We find it in the Song of Deborah, the Hebrew Psalms, and the Koran. How many a great victory has had for its prelude the rhapsody of some trivial or national poet. These songs were often the local chronicles, and for centuries the bard was the

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tribal or national historian. In most of the great world epics there are fragments that can be traced to pre-epic ages—the songs of Thessaly in the Iliad, the old Aryan tribal songs in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. Such fragments appear in the Hebrew Scriptures in the Song of the Well, or the riddle of Samson, or, indeed, the whole cycle of Samson stories. Recently the British Museum obtained some fragments of tablets inscribed with curious poems, relating to local events, such as a flood of the Tigris, and other events. The opening tablet contains a choice little poem—

“ I will sing the song of the lady of the gods ;  
 Attend, O hero ; give ear, O warrior ;  
 Of Mama (goddess), her song is sweeter than honey or wine,  
 Sweeter than honey or wine,  
 Better than fresh-gathered fruits, better than pure cream.”

These fragments are written in an archaic character, which show that they cannot be later than B.C. 2500, and possibly much earlier. They are but little fragments, broken and time-worn ; but here we have the germ of the songs of Hafiz and Omar Khayaam, in praise of wine—“ that maketh glad the heart of God and man ”—and luscious fruit. Another fragment may be quoted ; it is the close of a poem relating to the plague-god, and no doubt the record of some terrible epidemic which once swept the land.

“ Thus spake the hero Ura (the plague-god)—  
 Whosoever shall praise this song,  
 In his shrine may plenty abound ;  
 Whosoever shall magnify my name,  
 May he rule the four quarters of the world ;  
 Whosoever shall proclaim the glory of my valour  
 Shall have none to oppose him.

The singer who chants it shall not die of pestilence,  
 But unto king and people his words shall be well-pleasing ;  
 The scribe who learns it shall escape from the foe ;  
 In the shrine of the people, where he continually invokes my name,  
 His understanding will I increase ;  
 In the house where this tablet is set,  
 Though I Ura be angry, and the seven gods (spirits) bring havoc,  
 Yet the dagger of pestilence shall not approach it ;  
 Immunity shall rest upon it." \*

Another curious tablet, long known as the "Cutha legend of the Creation," but which is now shown to be a species of heroic poem describing the deeds of a King of Kutha, who ridded his land from demons and monsters who invaded it, may be quoted.

There is something of the flavour of an old Teutonic fairy-tale about this Babylonian legend, with its heroic deeds, etc. The king tells his story —

" I went not forth from the land, I gave them not battle,  
 A people who had the bodies of the birds of the caverns,  
 Men who had the faces of ravens ;  
 (These) had the great gods created,  
 And on earth the gods made them a city ;  
 Tiamat gave them suck ; the lady of the gods brought them into  
 the world ; †  
 In the midst of the mountains they became strong, they grew up and  
 multiplied exceedingly ;  
 Seven kings (were they), brethren fair and comely ;  
 The hundred and sixty thousand their forces were in number ; ‡  
 Anbanini their father was king, their mother Melili was queen."

The tablet is now very broken, and relates various attempts by magic and other means to defeat them. Army after army, each time increasing in number until

\* L. W. King, "First Steps in Assyria," p. 219.

† The legend is probably associated with that of the goddess Mama mentioned above, who gave birth to the seven kings.

‡ It is to be noticed that all numbers are multiples of sixty, like the ages of the Hebrew patriarchs.



the immense host of 60,700 is reached, is sent, but in each case "not one returned alive." At last the king is roused. The king speaks, saying—

"Thus spake I unto my heart, 'Now, what am I?  
 What have I brought upon my realm?  
 I am a king who has brought no prosperity to his land,  
 A shepherd who has brought no prosperity to his people;  
 But now I myself will act; in my own person I will go forth.'  
 The pride of men, and night and death, and disease and trembling,  
 And fear and terror, and . . . hunger,  
 And famine and misery of every kind,  
 Followed after them,  
 As if there had been a deluge  
 (Like unto) the former deluge."

It is much to be regretted that the portion which describes the final victory is missing. At the end of the tablet the king addresses those rulers who come after him, and advises them to make their cities strong and to avoid battle in the open field. He says—

"Behold this spell, and hearken to the words thereof,  
 And thou shalt not despair, or be feeble;  
 And thou shalt not fear or be afraid.  
 May thy foundation (throne) be strong;  
 Sleep thou on the bosom of thy wife;  
 Make strong thy walls, and fill thy moats with water;  
 Bring in thy treasure chests, thy corn, thy silver, and thy possessions;  
 Guard thy body and protect thy person;  
 Thou shalt not go out unto him."

Mythological as this fragment is in many respects, it may have at the bottom a historic element of some great national catastrophe.

With the advent of the Semite a great change took place in the literary activity of Babylonia. With that adaptive faculty which the Semite has exhibited in all lands and all ages, the new-comers began to collect together

the folk-legends and form them into cycle or epic poems. Of these compilations there are many, but two are of considerable length, and, fortunately, well preserved. These are (1) the Cosmic Epic, a poem in seven tablet-books, which contains the legendary history of the creation of the world ; (2) the National Epic, a cycle of twelve tablet-books, recording the adventures of the great ethnic hero of Chaldea, Gilgames (Nimrod).

The latter of these compositions is the oldest, for seals discovered at Sirpurra, which bear the name of Lugal Ušum-gal, the viceroy of Sargon I., B.C. 3800, bear the representations of deeds of Gilgames, which are recorded in the poem.

Here we have Ea-bani, the faithful companion of Gilgames, represented as struggling with the lion, and the hero himself engaged in combat with the mighty bull of Heaven. These prove that the stories embodied in the epic must have been current in the thirty-ninth century before the Christian era.



SEAL WITH FIGURES FROM EPIC,  
B.C. 3800.

The Gilgames-Nimrod epic was the national poem of the Babylonians, and although in its later forms it is a mythological composition, the hero becoming a personification of the sun-god, still there are not lacking indications that there is a historical element in the composition. The popularity of the epic, established, as we have seen, at a very early period, continued throughout all ages. The episodes supplied the gem engravers of Chaldea with a rich supply of material, and scenes from it are found on

hundreds of cylinder seals. Just as the Greek lapidaries used the labours of Hercules, or the episodes in the Trojan War, or the Loves of Aphrodite, so the lapidaries of Babylonia drew upon the deeds of Gilgames, the amours of Istar, and the Creation epic for their material. A fine example is the seal of Iqisa-Nahe, son of Lamadi the scribe, his servant, a seal of the late period B.C. 500, which represents the hero struggling with the lion. Here the representation of action and the treatment of muscles, both of hero and animal, are extremely fine.



GILGAMES AND THE LION.

The national epic has for its scene the city kingdom of Erech, for which city Gilgames was ruler. What was the form of the poem in the earliest stage of the Sargonide and pre-Sargonide times we cannot say ; probably it consisted of numerous incidents not yet woven into a concrete whole. We may reasonably suppose that this re-editing and composition of the twelve-book form is to be attributed to the literary activity of the age of the kings of the first Babylonian dynasty, about B.C. 2300 ; probably to the latter part of this period.

The national epic differs from the Creation poem in some most important features. The latter is essentially a composition embodying material of various dates and

origins, woven together by the priests of the theological college of Babylon, and edited so as to give prominence to the local and national god Marduk. The national epic displays no such re-editing ; it is essentially a local poem associated with Erech and with the Erechite hero Gilgames, and the local god Anu and the goddess Istar. Babylon is never mentioned in the poem as Marduk. Again, the Creation epic contains many portions which indicate the use of Sumerian documents, notably in the seventh tablet, whereas there is nothing in the Gilgames epic which can be distinctly pointed to as Sumerian. The minor folk-tales, such as the Loves of Istar for the Horse and Lion, which occur in the sixth tablet, may be old Sumerian stories ; as also may the Tammuz legend.

The arrangement of the component books of the epic, according to the signs of the Zodiac, belongs to the period when the ethnic hero had become a solar myth ; and this also would point to its being compiled during the period of the Arabio-Babylonian dynasty.

So much has been written upon the epic that I do not propose to give extensive translations, but rather to deal with the literary character and value of this ancient poem.\* The solar character of the hero is clearly indicated by the correspondence which exists between the episodes and the signs of the Zodiac, but it is more clearly brought out in a hymn to the hero, which forms part of a magical work—

“ O Gilgames, great king, judge of the spirits of earth ;  
 O prince, great counsellor of mankind,  
 Overseer of all regions, ruler of the world, lord of the whole earth ;  
 Thou judgest like a god, thou decidest decisions,

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\* A very full synopsis, with translations, is to be found in King's “ Babylonian Religion.”

Thou art established on earth, thou fulfillest judgment ;  
 Thy judgments are unchanged, thy command is unaltered ;  
 Thou dost examine (all), thou commandest, thou judgest, thou dost  
 see and direct ;  
 The sun-god has entrusted to thy hand sceptre and decision."

Here the hero becomes the human representation of the sun-god, the divine lord of laws, and the hymn bears a remarkable resemblance to the epithets applied to the sun-god in the epilogue to the code of Khammurabi.

The solar character is again strongly indicated in the arrangement of the episodes. For the first six books all the deeds record the increasing greatness and power of the hero, his elevation to the throne of Erech, the glory of his court, where "he had no equal, no rival to oppose him." He is described as "Gilgames the perfect in strength, who surpasses all men in strength like the mountain bull." Next comes the war and defeat of the national foe Khumbaba the Elamite, who dwelt in the dark forest-clad hills of the north-east. Gilgames is now at the zenith of his power, so now the sun has reached its greatest power at the time of the summer solstice. A new character now appears on the scene—Istar, the voluptuous goddess, queen of love, the sensual goddess, with her attendants Samkhat ("pleasure"), Kharimat the devotee, and her bands of harlots (*kadištû*) and the ensnarers (*kisrite*). The goddess proposes marriage, "Be thou my husband, and I will be thy wife ;" but the hero knows the character of the goddess, and rebukes her, throwing in her face her former amours and the ills she has brought upon her lovers. Enraged at the refusal, the goddess seeks vengeance, and seeks to overcome the hero by a terrible bull which Anu created for her, but the hero, aided by his companion Ea-bani, destroys the bull. The vengeance of the goddess is

brought about in another way, unfortunately not clearly revealed to us in the broken state of the tablets. The hero is afflicted with leprosy, and from this time onwards the progress of the hero is one of disease, misery, and disaster. His giant strength wanes, his luxuriant locks, the sign of his strength, fall off, and he is filled with the dread of death and with a terrible yearning for the knowledge of the secret of immortality. The sun has now passed the zenith, and wearily winds its way to the dark cavern of winter and night.

In his search for immortality the hero visits the garden in the west when the sun sets, where he encounters the scorpion men who guard the gate of the setting sun.



GILGAMES (NIMROD).  
(Photo by Girandon, Paris.)

These giant figures are like the Kerubim who guard the gate of Paradise—

“Then they reached the twin mountain,  
 Whose exit is guarded by (scorpion men),  
 Whose shoulders extend to the threshold of heaven,  
 Whose breast reaches the under-world.  
 Scorpion men guard its gate,  
 Barring with terribleness ; to look upon them is death  
 Full of terrible splendour . . .  
 At sunrise and sunset they guard the sun.”

Passing the abode of the scorpion men, he comes to the garden of the west, where trees are loaded with jewelled fruit. Here he learns that one alone can tell him the secret of immortal life — Šamaš-napišti, the Chaldean Noah, who has survived the deluge, and dwells in the land of immortality at “the mouth of the rivers.” To this sage he turns, and hence we have the deluge story woven into the epic.

From this brief *resumé*, it at once appears that we have a mass of material of the utmost value to students of comparative mythology. Not only have we a most astonishing correspondence to the Greek legends of Herakles, an agreement so close that we must regard the Chaldean poem as the real source of this Hellenic cycle of stories, but the Hebrew myth of Samson, the solar hero of the Hebrews, is to be traced to the same source.

As regards the Hellenic affinities, it requires but a very little examination to discover them. Like Herakles, Gilgames is celebrated for his strength. The war against Khumbaba is, perhaps, the basis of two episodes in the Greek story, first the war against Erginus, King of Orchomenos, or the war and spoliation of the Geryones. It is evident that the defeat by Gilgames of Khumbaba the Elamite represents the delivery from a tyrannical foe.

The companionship between the hero and the creature Ea-bani, half man and half bull, is parallel with the friendship between Herakles and Khieron, and both met with untimely ends, Khieron being killed by the poisoned arrow of his master, Ea-bani apparently by the lightning (*tambukku*).\* The illness of Gilgames, when his body is covered "with leprosy as with a garment," is curiously like Herakles, smitten with death from the poisoned garment of Nessus. The description of the illness of Gilgames is one of the most interesting portions of the poem. We read—

"The man thou hast brought to me is covered with sores ;  
 The eruption of his skin has spoiled the beauty of his body.  
 Take him, O Arad Ea (servant of Ea), to the place of purification,  
 To wash his sores in the water, that his body may become pure as  
 snow ;  
 Let the sea carry away the eruption of his skin,  
 That his body may become pure ;  
 Let his hair be renewed, and a garment cover his nakedness."

How graphic a description, how vividly it depicts that curse of the Orient, the "leper, white as snow." Some interesting lines referring to leprosy are found on a boundary stone recently discovered at Susa, and dated about B.C. 1300. The passage occurs among the curses invoked upon those who injure this ancient landmark. We read—

"May leprosy clothe his body like a garment all the days of his life ;  
 May he be excluded from his home ;  
 Like a wild beast of the field, on the earth may he lay himself down ;  
 The streets of his own city may he never tread."

It is interesting to notice that the leper Gilgames is

\* The word *tambukku* means "the gadfly," and in this episode originated the Arab story of Nimrod being killed by a fly.



to bathe seven times in the sea, as Naaman was ordered to bathe seven times in Jordan.

Next the visit of the hero to the garden in the west finds its counterpart in the visit of Herakles to the garden of the Hesperides. The scorpion men are the origin of the Greek Atlas, who bore up the heavens ; and in the twin mountains, between which the Sun passed, we have the basis of the mythic pillars of Herakles. The striking parallels thus established between the ancient Chaldean epic and the Hellenic legends of Herakles are sufficient to show the indebtedness of the West to the East for its inspiration. Not only is Greek literature indebted to the writers of Chaldea, but the Hebrews, no doubt, found echoes of this ancient Saga in Canaan, and borrowed and adapted it in the story of Samson, the Solar hero of Hebrew mythology. The slaying of the lion is but an echo of the heroic deed of Gilgames, recorded on tablets and depicted on gems and seals. The love of Samson and Delilah are but an echo of the loves of Istar, and the loss of his hair deprives him of his strength, as Gilgames lost his when his luxuriant locks fell off from disease. One episode in the story of Samson is illustrated by the mythology of Chaldea, the carrying away of the gates of Gaza (Judges xvi. 1-4). Samson (the Sun) is at war with the ethnic foe of the Hebrews, the Philistines, as Gilgames was with the Elamites. At dawn Samson is shut in Gaza. Gaza = Assyrian (*khazite*) "the strong city" by night. Now, each night the Sun is shut in the strong fortress of night, but each morning he bursts the gates open, and escapes from his foes, carrying the gates with him. This episode is explained on the tablets and gems, and especially in a hymn to the sun-god, where we read—

“O Sun-god, out of the horizon of heaven thou comest forth,  
 The bolt of the bright heaven thou openest,  
 The door of heaven thou dost open.  
 O Sun-god, over the world dost thou lift thy head ;  
 O Sun-god, with the glory of heaven thou coverest the world.”

As Gilgames wanders wearily to his end, so the blind and shorn Samson dies at last, amid the *débris* of the temple of Dagon ; that is the Sun buried beneath the



THE SUN GOD PASSING THE GATES OF HEAVEN.

dark winter clouds. On the gems the Sun-god is often represented coming forth from the gates of the dawn.

The episode of the deluge, which is woven into the eleventh tablet-book, belongs to an age prior to the composition of the epic, and the story has been boldly woven in. The eleventh month of the old Sumerian calendar was called the “Month of the Curse of Rain,” corresponding to the sign of Aquarius. Like the rest of the epic, the Babylonian deluge story, as it appears in the poem, is composite in character. There are two distinct elements to commence with, the ethic and the natural. Like the Hebrew story, the Babylonian legend makes the deluge a divine punishment for sin on the part of the inhabitants of the native city of the Chaldean




Noah (*Šamaš-napišti*).\* The family of the sage are protected by Ea, while the deluge is attributed to the anger of the god Mullil, or the Old Bel. This seems to indicate a rivalry between the two theological schools of Eridu and Nippur. In addition to this there is also another



DELUGE TABLET (OBVERSE.)

element, that of the climatological myth, where the poem is descriptive of one of those terrible winter storms which sweep the plain during the months of January and February.

As I have dealt with the relation between this story

\* There is still much uncertainty as to the reading of the name   . It is read by Haupt and others *Pir-napištum* ("Offspring of Life"), *Um-napištum* ("Day of Life"), and other forms; but I still consider the reading *Šamaš-napištum* ("the Sun of Life, or Living Sun") to be most suitable as opposed to Gilgames as the "Dying Sun of Winter."

and the Hebrew very fully in a former work, I do not propose to minutely compare the two versions. The general agreement is shown in the special appendix.

In the Babylonian version the vessel of salvation is a ship with masts, decks, oars, etc., not a box, as in the Hebrew account ; but the tradition may have arisen from



DELUGE TABLET (REVERSE).

the curious shape given to the ark of the Chaldean Noah on some of the gems, where it is an unmistakable box. Looking at the agreements and differences between the two accounts, it seems to me that the Hebrew is not directly borrowed from the Babylonian, but, rather, taken from a secondary source, possibly from some tradition which was current in Canaan, but re-edited during the Captivity. Here, as in the Creation story, we find the Yahavistic version approaches nearest to the Babylonian

account, the rôle of Ea representing that of Yaveh. He is the one who warns Šamaš-napišti of the coming cataclysm, who instructs him to build the ark, and after the escape pacifies the offended and enraged Bel. The in-



SAMAS NAPISTI AND HIS WIFE ; GILGAMES  
AND THE PILOT.

fluence of the school of Eridu is as manifest here as it has been shown to be in the legend of civilization and in the Creation stories. The discovery by Dr. Schiel of a variant

version of the legend on a tablet discovered at Sippàra, dated in the reign of Ammi-sadugga of the first Babylonian dynasty, shows that the legend was current prior to B.C. 2200.

Some portions of the climatological poem describing the terrible deluge storm are among the finest known portions of Babylonian writing—

“ On the coming of the dawn  
There rose dark clouds on the horizon of heaven ;  
Within them Adad (Storm-god) thundered his thunder ;  
Naba and the Wind-god marched in front ;  
The throne-bearers \* passed over mountain and plain ;  
The Pestilence-god let loose his demons (?)  
Ninip advances, furious with rage ;  
The spirits of Earth carry torches,  
Flashing over all the universe ; †  
The whirlwind of Adad sweeps the heavens ;  
All light is turned to darkness.” ‡

Passing now to the epic of Cosmos, we have a poem the construction of which at once reveals its very

- \* The storm-clouds, like Yaveh, riding on the Kerubim.
- † A very graphic description of lightning.
- ‡ See Appendix D for full analysis of Deluge Legend.

composite character. Like the Hebrew accounts in the opening chapters of Genesis, it displays clearly the handiwork of more than one editor. The whole of the known tablets and fragments relating to this poem have been so excellently published and edited by Mr. L. W. King in his work on the "Seven Tablets of Creation," that I shall only deal with the construction and literature of the poem. The poem originally consisted of about one thousand lines of writing, and was at an early period divided into seven tablet-books, as the Gilgames epic was into twelve. Similar to the Hebrew seven days of creation, this arrangement in no way corresponds to the creative week of Genesis, culminating in the sabbath, for the actual work of creation does not commence until the fourth tablet. As in the case of the national epic, we have both a religious and a natural element in the poem. The former is represented by the *rôle* of Marduk, the local god of Babylon, now elevated to the position of national god, and endowed with such titles as "the lord of the gods of heaven and earth," "the king of the gods of heaven and earth," "the counsellor of Bel and Ea," "lord of Babylon," "restorer of Babylon," "the ruler of Babylon." In the seventh tablet, which contains the great pean of praise to the victorious Marduk, we have a passage the importance of which I have already noticed. "The lord of the world" the father Bel hath called his name. This title all the spirits of heaven proclaimed. Ea heard this and rejoiced, and said, "He whose name his fathers have made glorious shall be even as I, his name shall be Ea; the binding together (codification) of all my decrees he shall control; all my laws he shall make known." Here we have a passage which presents, as I have already said, so remarkable a resemblance to the opening lines of the

code of King Khammurabi, that they may be said to emanate from the same school. The gist of the whole is, the transference of the learning and power of the old seats of wisdom and rule, namely, Eridu and Nippur, to Babylon, and the elevation of Marduk over the older gods Ea and Bel. This, then, indicates most certainly an editing of the texts about the time of the first Babylonian dynasty, B.C. 2300-2000. In the cosmic epic we have, however, fragments which belong to an older period than the times of the first dynasty of Babylon, which produced the composition of many of the great literary works.

The two elements in the poem, the natural and the religious, are clearly to be divided, the former represented by the Dragon myth, the latter by the work of creation, and especially by the great festival of praise which terminates the poem.

The Dragon myth is one of the most universal of legends; hardly a nation possessing a mythical literature is without it in some form or other. It is a myth of which the source is at once apparent. In the dawn of civilization men dreaded the darkness and night; it was then that the dread army of demons and spirits had their rule, bringing terror and destruction upon all. What better simile could they find for the darkness that coiled round the earth each night, or for the dark storm-clouds that gathered and obscured the bright vault of heaven, than that of dragons and serpents? In a land so full as Babylonia of superstition, the development of a dragon myth was a necessity. In the list of the evil powers we read of "the black serpent," "the serpent of night," "the serpent with seven heads and seven tails"—that is the serpent of the week, to whom I shall have to refer again.

Thus the dragon myth had its origin in the old days of animism and of the age of demonology.

We have already seen that the dragon, or great serpent (*ušum-gal*), figures in the Eclipse myth; and we have a fragment belonging to the pre-epic age of the Creation which presents a close resemblance to this poem.\*

“ The cities sighed,  
 Men uttered lamentations ;  
 For their lamentations there was no help ;  
 In their grief there was none to take (them by the hand)  
 Who was the dragon (serpent) ?  
 Tiamat was the dragon,  
 Bel in the heavens had sent ;  
 Fifty *kaspu* his length, one *kaspu* his height,  
 Six cubits his mouth, twelve cubits (his nostrils),  
 Twelve cubits the circuit of his ears,  
 For sixty cubits his (wings) like a bird,  
 In water nine cubits he dragged ;  
 He raised his tail on high ;  
 All the gods of heaven feared,  
 In heaven all the gods crouched themselves down ; †  
 The edge of the Moon-god's robe they (grasped),  
 Who will go and slay the dragon,  
 And drive him from the broad land,  
 And exercise sovereignty (there) ?  
 Go, Tiskhu, ‡ slay the dragon,  
 And drive him from the broad land,  
 And exercise sovereignty there.  
 Thou hast sent me, O lord, to the raging creatures of the river,  
 But I know not the (spell) against the dragon.  
 [Considerable break.]  
 And . . . opened his mouth and spake unto the god :  
 Raise up cloud and whirlwind ;  
 Set the seal of thy life before thee ;  
 Grasp it, and thou shalt slay the dragon.

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\* The text of this inscription is given in “Selected Cuneiform Texts,” Pt. XIII. Pl. 33, and a translation by Mr. King in “Seven Tablets of Creation,” pp. 116-119. I have only varied a few phrases.

† Compare the use of this expression in Deluge tablet.

‡ Tiskhu “was a war-god,” sometimes identified also with Istar.



He stirred up cloud and whirlwind ;  
 He set the seal of life before his face ;\*  
 He grasped it and slew the dragon.  
 For three years and three months and one day and one (night),  
 Flowed the blood of the dragon."

Here we have a myth the natural basis of which is an eclipse, or else the battle between the moon and the storm-clouds.

With the development of civilization and culture the Dragon myth begins to assume more elaborate forms. Besides the dragon of night, there grew up the conception of the great primeval night dragon, who had held the world in bondage ere the work of creation had begun. This conception is represented by a pair of creatures, Apsu, "the primeval deep" (*absū rištu*), and "the chaos Tiamat" (*Mūmmu Tiamat*), whose nature is defined in the opening lines of the first tablet of the series—

"The primeval Apsu who begat them ;  
 The chaos Tiamat, the mother of them all—  
 Their waters were mingled together."

The wailing nature of the primeval chaos is found in the Hebrew and Egyptian cosmogonies. In the former it is represented by Tehom ("the deep"), and then ascribed by the epithets "without form, and void." Even better is the Egyptian conception of the moist humid substance out of which all things were developed, the primeval *paut* (50), "a most seething mass of matter." † Two marked features characterized this first of ages: "the absence of order," "none bore a name; no destinies were ordained." Without a name—that is, without being called into existence by the creator—nothing could exist. In the Hebrew,

\* The *kunukku napīšti* ("seal of life") was some kind of charm, like the Gorgon's head of Medusa.

† Papyrus of Nesi Amsu.

“And God said” is the creative formula, or, in the Egyptian, the primeval god Kheperer says, “I uttered my own name as a word of power, and straightway I came into being.” The second was the rule of darkness—“and darkness covered the face of the deep” (Gen. i. 1).

The first tablet sets out these features.



FIRST CREATION TABLET.

“When on high the heaven was unnamed,  
 And for the earth below a name was not uttered,  
 The primeval Apsu begat them,  
 And Chaos Tiamat was the mother of them all.  
 Their waters were mingled together,  
 A field was not formed, no marsh had been seen ;  
 Where not any of the gods had come forth,  
 And none bore a name, and no destinies were ordained  
 Then were created the great gods within (heaven?).”

Here we have a description which agrees with both the Elohist and Yahvistic versions of the Hebrew. The same water chaos as in Genesis (i. 1), while no verdure, even the rank marsh, had come into being, which agrees with Yahvist's version. “No plant of the field was yet in the earth, no herb had yet sprung up” (Gen. ii. 5) ; and in an ancient Creation poem of Sumerian origin we read, “No seed had sprung up, no tree had been created.”

The first work is the institution of order by assigning the main division of nature to divinities.

“Then Ansar and Kisar were created over them.”

This is the subdivision of nature into the upper and lower world. This is followed by the creation of Anu as god of heaven, and Ea as god of the ocean. Still, however, Tiamat and Apsu remained in a chaotic union. The introduction of cosmic order tended to put an end to the rule of this primeval pair. We are told “Apsu was not diminished in power. Still Tiamat roared. Their way was evil.” The downfall of Chaos was the birth of order. Apsu cries, “By day I cannot rest, by night I cannot lie down in peace; but I will destroy their way.” It was this way (*alkat*) or path of regular order that destroyed the dormant comatose life of Chaos. But the powers of Chaos did not submit quietly. After consulting the two, Tiamat and Apsu decided to destroy the order or way of the gods. “Let us make their way difficult. Their way is strong, but thou shalt destroy it; then by day shalt thou have rest, by night shalt thou lie down in peace.”

But a new power appears to combat the evil powers. “Ea, who is wise in all things, went up and heard their mutterings.” It is unfortunate that this portion of the first tablet is so mutilated as to render any concise translation impossible, but it ends in Apsu being destroyed and Mummu his counsellor taken captive. Broken as it is, we see here the fragment of an old poem of the school of Eridu, which has been woven into the epic, and represents the triumph of mind over matter, of the cosmic order over Chaos, the establishment of the reign of law.

In Babylonia, as in Egypt, law and truth was the essential attribute of the great gods.

The Sun-god was the special type of unvarying order, for we read, "Thou risest each day by law; thy path is an unchanging one. Direct thy path (march) along the way, set forth for thy going; the law of mankind dost thou direct; thou art eternally just in heaven; thou art ever faithful in judgment to all the world." So also in Egypt we find this attribute of law or truth among the most important attributes of the god-head. "Truth embraceth thee at morn and eve. Ra liveth on truth; he feedeth on truth. Men love thee because of thy beautiful law of day." This phase of the conflict between law and



PORTIONS OF SECOND CREATION TABLET.

order and chaos in so ancient a poem is of great importance, for in most ancient religions the Sun, or the chief representation of cosmic order, becomes in later times the lord of moral law.

In the Egyptian stele of Tahebt we read, "I have walked upon the path of the faithful, upright as Ra." The *maat* of cosmic order becomes the *maat* or Justice and truth of moral law in the Egyptian religious and ethical teaching. The conquest of Apsu does not end the conflict. Here the editors have evidently woven into the poem an old myth of the dragon war, and much elaborated it. The connecting-link is afforded by the catch-phrase (Tablet I., line 103), where we read, "Thou shalt take vengeance for them."

In Tablets I., II., III., we have a mass of repetition, so that it is clear that the editors had been drawing on more than one source of material, and certainly had not succeeded in blending them into a very coherent whole.

Tiamat becomes now both a nature power and a representative of the realm of darkness and evil, with a strange host of demons and other allies.

The words are often repeated, but the most complete version occurs in the third tablet (lines 15-31):—

"He saith, Tiamat our mother has turned against us with hatred ;  
 With all her force she furiously rages ;  
 All the gods have turned to her.\*  
 With those which ye created they go at her side ;  
 They are banded together ; by the side of Tiamat they advance.  
 Furiously they plot, not ceasing night or day ;  
 Rising for battle, fuming and raging,  
 They have set their array, and are making war.  
 Ummu Khubur, who planned all things,

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\* This must mean the so-called "black gods," or gods of night ; the evil gods.

Hath made, in addition, invincible weapons ; she has spawned  
 monster serpents,  
 Sharp of tooth, merciless of fang ;  
 With poison instead of blood she has filled their bodies ;  
 Fierce dragons she hath clothed with terror ;  
 With awe she has adorned them, and made them of lofty stature ;  
 He who looks upon them is overcome with terror ;  
 Their bodies rear up, and none can withstand their attack ;  
 She has placed vipers, hissing serpents, and the monster Lakhmu,  
 Storms, ragging hounds, and scorpion men,  
 Mighty storms, fish-men, rams,  
 Bearing merciless weapons, having no fear of battle ;  
 Her commands are mighty, none can oppose them.  
 After this manner, huge of form, eleven (groups of monsters) has  
 she made  
 From the gods her offspring ; because he had aided her,  
 Kingu she exalted, she raised him to power,  
 To command the army, to lead the forces,  
 To give the battle signal,\* to set the attack,  
 To direct the battle, to order the fight ;  
 All this she has entrusted to his hand, and caused him to sit in royal  
 robes (saying to him)—  
 ‘ I have uttered my spell ; in the assembly of the gods I have exalted  
 thee ;  
 The dominion over all the gods I have entrusted to thy hands ;  
 Be thou exalted, my chosen spouse ;  
 May the spirits of earth magnify thy renown over all.’  
 She has given him the tablets of destiny and placed them on his  
 breast.\*  
 ‘ Thy command shall be unailing, and the word of thy mouth  
 established.’ ”

Such was the dark host which the powers of evil and  
 darkness gather to make war against order and light.

\* The possession of the “ Tablets of Destiny ” (*duppi simati*) gave  
 absolute power to control gods and men. In the legend of Zu, who  
 stole the destiny tablets, we are told “ that they gave the power to  
 proclaim the laws of the gods or the destiny of all things.” Worn on  
 the breast like the breastplate, and probably represented by the  
 “ seven stones ” the king wore as a pectoral, they were certainly  
 the origin of the breastplate of the High Priest, and the oracle of the  
 Urim and Thummim. After the defeat of Kingu and Tiamat, Marduk  
 places them on his own breast.

The very detailed description which we have here of the Hell-host which Tiamat has gathered round her, is of great value to the student of comparative mythology.

Here we have, firstly, the original of the horde of composite creatures ascribed by Berosus as preceding the creation of light. The Greco-Chaldean historian says, "Once all was darkness and water. In this chaos lived horrid animals, men with two wings, others with four wings\* and two faces. Others had the thighs of goats and horns † on their heads; others had had horses' feet or were formed behind like a horse, in front like a man. ‡ There were bulls with human heads, and horses and men with heads of dogs, and other animals of human shape with fins like fishes, § and fishes like sirens, ¶ and dragons, and creeping things, serpents and wild creatures, ¶ the images of which are found in the temple of Bel. ||

The description is more interesting, from a mythological point of view, as showing here the development of Dualism. As the old contest between Ea and Apsu had been one between Chaos and Cosmic order, so this second phase represents the conflict between Light and Darkness, between Good and Evil. The Dualism here is that which we have hitherto found most fully developed in the Zoroastrian creed of the Zend Avesta.

The black gods, the "gods of night," are the Zend Dævas, the followers of Angro-maynus, or Ahriman, and

\* Figures of genii with four wings may be seen in Nimrod gallery.

† The figures of the bull-headed Ea-bani he probably means.

‡ The centaur on the boundary stone of the Meli-sikhu in the New Babylonian room, No. 90827, and the scorpion Saggiarius on that of Nebuchadnezzar I., No. 90858.

§ Figures of Ea and the mermen.

¶ All on the boundary stones.

|| Several of these were found by the German explorers.

the opponents of Auramazda, as the Babylonian "brood" were the opponents of Marduk. But who are this fell crowd but the old evil spirits of the magical tablets and the creed of Animism. The Dævas of the Avesta "are born in the gloom of sunset or in the dark clouds of the North, in burial-places or in the places where the dead are placed, in all corners where light does not penetrate, in the darkest places of earth, or in the abyss. To them belong cold and gloom, drought, barren land and wilderness, poisonous plants and herbs, hunger and thirst, sickness and death."

Surely this entourage of Ahriman, like that of Tiamat, is the old demon horde of the magical litanies, who are described as bringing "cold and rain" and floods, destructive blasts and evil winds, raging storms, fever, poison, pain sorcery, evil malaria. It is they who dwell in the desert, in ruins, in the graves and tombs, who haunt dark places and deserted buildings, and prowl about like pariah dogs. The forms of the eleven tribes of demons—for, as Mr. King suggests correctly, the words are to be taken in a collective sense—are those of the noxious animals and reptiles which serve the Dævas and inflict injury on man. This curious parallel between the Zoroastrian creed and that of Babylonia may not be without considerable value in the study of the growth and development of the Persian religion, much regarding which still remains obscure.

In heaven all is consternation at this terrible revolt, and Ansar, the god of heaven, vainly tries to quell the revolt; and all appears lost until a champion is found in Marduk, who accepts the rôle of "avenger" of the gods.

This passage, which describes the selection, or rather



acceptance of Marduk as the avenger of the gods, is a very remarkable one in several ways.\*

Here, in the first place, we must notice that Marduk is called the Son of Ansar, "the god of heaven," not the Son of Ea, as in the magical and older litanies. *An-šar* is explained as *Kiššat-šamie*, the "host of heaven," and the title is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew "Lord of hosts," or the "Lord of the heavenly host," † a well-known epithet of the Hebrew Yaveh.

Ansar thus addresses his son—

"Thou art my son, who maketh merciful his heart,  
To battle thou shalt draw nigh.

He that looketh unto thee shall have peace.'

The lord rejoiced at the word of his father.

He drew nigh and placed himself before Ansar.

Ansar beheld him, and his heart was filled with joy ;

He kissed him on his lips, and fear quitted him.

'O my Father, the command of thy orbs be defeated.

Let me go and accomplish all that is in thy heart.

What man is it who has forced thee forth to (do) battle ?

Tiamat, who is a woman, armed and attacketh thee.

Rejoice now and be glad.

The neck of Tiamat thou shalt swiftly tread underfoot.'"

Marduk now goes forth as the avenger of the gods ; his mission is of a Messianic character. The rôle of avenger is *tir-gimili* ("restorer of satisfaction" or peace). The epithets applied to the god Marduk in the epic are

\* Tablet II., lines 110-124.

† *An-šar* = the host of heaven, *Ki-šar* the host of earth ; and the rôle of these two abstract divinities is well expressed by the phrase in Gen. ii. 1, "And the heavens and the earth were finished, all the host of them." In the more systematic theology of Babylon, as distinguished from the magic of the older time, Ansar and Kisar replace the "Spirit of Heaven and the Spirit of Earth" in the formula, "By the (Spirit of) Heaven be ye exorcised, by (the Spirit) of Earth be ye exorcised" (Thompson, "Devils and Evil Spirits," p. 13, l. 116).

exactly those which we find the Hebrew prophet Isaiah applying to the Messiah. He is called "the son," "the first-born son," "the mighty god," "the one to look upon whom is peace," "the Counsellor," "the counsellor of all the gods;" he is endowed with "the sovereignty and dominion of the whole earth." Surely we have here all the titles of the Child in Isaiah ix. 6, "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father,\* Prince of Peace." The words are in many cases the same, and the conception of the Divine deliverer is common to both writings. It is to be noticed that in Isaiah the passage seems to be an interpolation, having no direct connection with the verses before or after.

Marduk is chosen and commissioned in the solemn assembly of the gods, *upšukkinaku*, or "council chamber." As he is going forth to war his destiny is cast, as was that of the Babylonian kings on going forth to war.†

As we have seen the assembly of the Host of Darkness, so now we have a fine piece of poetic writing describing the going forth of Marduk, like Michael, as the avenger of the gods—

"After that the gods (his father's) had cast the destiny for the Lord,  
The path of prosperity and peace they caused him take.  
He made ready the bow, he selected his weapon,  
He slung a spear upon him and fixed it;  
He raised his mace; in his right hand he grasped it.  
The bow and the quiver he at his side he hung.  
He set lightning in front of him.  
With hot, burning flame he filled his body.

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\* Compare the titles given to Marduk: "begetter (*muallidal*) of the gods," "restorer of the gods," "creator (*bani*) of all the gods."

† Compare Ezek. xxi. 21, 22.

He made a net to enclose the depths of Tiamat.  
 He stationed the four winds that nothing might come forth from her—  
 The south wind, the north wind, and the east and west winds.  
 He drew up the net, the gift of his father Anu.  
 He created the whirlwind, tempest, and hurricane,  
 The fourfold and sevenfold winds, and the wind that none could  
 withstand.  
 He sent forth these seven winds which he had created  
 To disturb the depths of Tiamat ; they followed after him.  
 Then the lord raised the thunderbolt, his mighty weapon.  
 He mounted his chariot the storm, unequalled for terror ;  
 He harnessed and yoked to it four horses,  
 ' Destruction,' ' Unsparing,' ' Overwhelming,' and ' Swift of Pace.'\*  
 His head was decked with overwhelming brightness.  
 Then he set out, he took his way."

This passage is certainly full of rich poetry, and at once recalls to mind the grand description of the panoply of war which Mithra assumes in his fight against the Dævas. Take the following striking examples—

Mithra is called, "Victory-making, army-governing, endowed with a thousand senses, power-possessing, all-knowing, who sets the battle a-going, who, standing against armies, in battle breaks asunder the lines arranged. The wings of the columns to battle shake, and he throws terror upon the havocking host."† And then the description of Mithras' chariot, "Four stallions draw that chariot ; all of them are of white colour, fed with ambrosia. The hoofs of the fore feet are shod with gold, and the hoofs of the hind feet with silver ; all are yoked to the same pole, and wear the yoke."‡ In another passage we learn that the god is armed with "a thousand bows, a thousand arrows, a thousand spears," with which to crush the skulls

\* These I take to be the names of the horses, like the dogs of Marduk.

† Mihr Yast, No. IX., Darmsteter's translated Sacred Books of the East.

‡ Mihr Yast, No. XXXI., *ibid.*

of the Dævas. Both the Babylonian poem and the hymn of the Zend Avesta belong to a period of advanced civilization and luxury, and not to a primitive age.

The battle now commences, and is described in equally poetic terms—

“ ‘Stand ! thou and I will soon battle.’

When Tiamat heard this she was possessed, she wavered in her plan ;  
 She uttered wild cries on high,  
 She trembled and shook to her foundations,  
 She recited an incantation,\* she repeated her spell.  
 The gods for battle cried for their weapons.  
 Then advanced Tiamat and Marduk, the counsellor of the gods.  
 To the fight they came on, to the battle they approached.  
 The Lord threw out his net and caught her,  
 And cast the evil wind that was behind him in her face.  
 As Tiamat opened her mouth to its full extent  
 He caused the evil wind to enter ere she closed her lips.  
 The burning wind filled her stomach,  
 Her courage (heart) was taken from her, her words failed.  
 He grasped his spear and burst her belly ;  
 He cut in pieces her inward parts, he pierced her heart ;  
 He conquered her, and destroyed her life ;  
 He cast down her body (form) and stood upon it.”

The next episode is the defeat of the devil host and their final bondage. Kingu, the spouse of Tiamat, is defeated, and from him Marduk takes the tablets of destiny, which make him superior over gods and men.

“ He took from him the Destiny tablets which were not designed for him ;  
 He sealed them with his own seal, and on his breast he laid them.”

The tablet ends with the final triumph of the god of light—

“ He had full accomplished the triumph of Ansar over the foe.  
 Over the captive gods he made strong their durance,

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\* Magical incantations and wild cries and witchcraft are on the side of the evil Tiamat.

Then to Tiamat, whom he had conquered, he returned,  
 And the Lord stood on her lower part,  
 And with his merciless club he crushed her skull."

Here we have a rich mass of mythological matter. In the main, the story is based on the dawn myth, the daily triumph of the sun over the serpent of night, that each night coils round the earth—and is defeated by the rising sun. This is the seven-headed and seven-tailed serpent of night—the serpent of the sea, which is defeated by Marduk. This conception throws great light upon the curious passage in Genesis, which gives the curse of Yaveh upon the serpent. "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel;" or, as the marginal reading has, "lie in wait for thy heel." Here the same idea is embodied in the Babylonian epic each day the sun-god Marduk defeats the serpent, and "with his merciless club crushes her skull," as Mithra crushes the skulls of the Dævas; but as night returns again, and the sun sinks to rest, the serpent again creeps on the heel of the victory. There is, however, a religious and ethical element also. Tiamat, as I have said, represents the old magic and demonology—the powers of evil witchcraft and sorcery, darkness and wickedness, while Merodach is the pure light, the good, white, or benevolent magic, whose spells are holy. The captive gods are the fallen angels, and the exalted devil Kingu, who usurped the powers and the adornments of Bel, is the rebellious Satan. It is this element that found its way into Christianity in the war of Michael and his angels against the devil and his angels; the expression the devil, the old serpent, and Satan used in the Apocalypse (Rev. xii. 7, 9), would seem to include both Tiamat and Kingu. No satisfactory etymology for

Kingu has yet been suggested, but it may have been Kingig, "maker of darkness."

The imagery of the Babylonian epic was certainly the foundation of the visions of Daniel and the Apocalypse. It must be remembered, as Mr. King has shown, that much of this story of the dragon myth passed into the late astrology current in Babylonia until but a little before the Christian era ; and tablets date as late as the first century B.C. There are references found on astrological tablets ;\* how much longer the matter survived in folklore we cannot tell.

The dragon myth, however, was not unknown in Hebrew literature, although we have no trace in Genesis, except in the general record of the creation of light (Gen. i. 3, 4) ; but none of them can be assigned to pre-Captivity times. In Isaiah (li. 9)—

" O arm of the Lord ; awake, as in the days of old, the generations of ancient days.

Art thou not it that cut Rahab in pieces, and pierced the dragon ? "

Here the writer seems almost to reproduce Babylonian phrases, and the passage certainly belongs to the Deutero-Isaiah. So also with Psalms (lxxiv. 13, f.)—

" Thou didst divide Tehom by thy strength :  
 Thou breakest the heads of the dragons in the waters.  
 Thou breakest the heads of leviathan in pieces :  
 Thou givest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness.  
 Thou didst cleave fountain and flood :  
 Thou driedst up overflowing rivers.  
 The day is thine, the night also is thine :  
 Thou hast prepared the illuminator (moon) and the sun.  
 Thou hast set all the borders of the earth :  
 Thou hast made summer and winter."

Here, again, we seem to recognize many phrases familiar to us in the Babylonian tablets. The heads of

\* King, " Seven Tablets of Creation," p. 209.

Leviathan recall the seven-headed serpent, while the desert was the especial abode of devils; and the reference to the creation of sun and moon agrees with the fifth Creation tablet, especially the use of the word "illuminator," or the Hebrew *מִאֲוֶר* being the equivalent of the Babylonian Nannar. Especially interesting is the phrase "Thou hast set the borders of the earth" in the Babylonian. "He created the realm of heaven, and laid out the firm earth" (Tab. VII. 115). Psalm lxxxix. 96 repeats the same ideas. As Babylonian myths, such as the story of Eriš-kigal ("the bride of the pit") the wife of Nergal, and the story of Adapa, have been found at Tel-el-Amarna, in the palace of Amenophis IV., therefore dating about the middle of the fifteenth century, there is no reason why they should not have been known in Palestine, and current among the Canaanites when the Hebrews occupied the land. The early Hebrew literature shows many distinct traces of Babylonian myths borrowed through Canaanite channels, such as the legends of Samson, or the story of Saul and the witch of Endor; and in all probability the story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is also a Babylonian storm myth in Palestinian form. But in the main the cosmogony of the Hebrews is free from the dragon myth, and when it occurs in the prophets and poetical works, its Babylonian affinities are most strikingly apparent.

A most striking example of Babylonian influence is found in the Book of Proverbs (viii. 22-29). In a bilingual Creation legend, which originally belonged to the school of Eridu, the holy city of Ea, and which had undergone a very clumsy re-editing at the hands of Babylonian scribes, we have a most astonishing parallel to the Hebrew.\*

\* This tablet is given in Mr. King's tablets, p. 133, and the text in "Cuneiform Texts," xiii. Pl. 33, etc.

HEBREW (Prov. viii. 22-29).

TABLET.

Yavch possessed me in the  
beginning of his way,  
Before his works of old.

was set up from everlasting,  
from the beginning, or ever the  
earth was.

When there were no depths I was  
brought forth.

When there were no fountains  
abounding with water,  
Before the mountains were settled,  
Before the hills was I brought  
forth.

When as yet he had not made  
the earth or the fields,  
Nor the beginning of the dust of  
the world.

When he established the heavens  
I was there.

When he set a circle upon the  
face of the deep.

When he made firm the skies  
above.

When the fountains of the deep  
became strong.

When he gave the sea its bound.

The deep had not been created.

He fashioned the firm earth.

No reed had sprung up, no tree  
had been created.

Marduk laid a reed (measure) on  
the face of the waters.

He made dust and poured it out  
upon the reed.

On the edge of the sea Marduk  
placed a dam.

He created the realm of heaven,  
who established for the gods  
the bright heaven.

All lands were sea. Then in the  
deep there arose a movement.

Marduk laid a dam around the  
sea.

The resemblances between these two passages are very striking, and would point to a common origin.

I now come to a tablet which is the most important of the whole series—the seventh and last.

This tablet contains a hymn of praise, which was sung by the assembled gods to Marduk after his completion of the work. It is, as Mr. King rightly observes, a hymn more ancient than the epic which has been edited and incorporated in the poem. I do not propose to give a translation of the whole of it, but only of the opening



portions, which will enable us to see its great value to the comparative mythologist. I must here at the commence-



SEVENTH CREATION TABLET.

ment express my great admiration at the skill and patience which Mr. King has displayed in reconstructing from

many tablets and fragments the text of this most important document.\*

“ O Asari, bestower of planting, founder of sowing,  
 Creator of grain and plants, who caused the green herb to spring up.  
 O Asari alim, who is revered in the house of counsel, whose counsel  
 is supreme.  
 O Asari alim nuna, the mighty one, the light of the father who begat  
 him,  
 Who directeth the laws of Anu, Bel, and Ea.  
 He was their provider ; he directed,  
 He whose provision is abundance,  
 Tutu, who createth them anew.†  
 Should their desires be pure, they shall be satisfied ;  
 Should he make an incantation, then are the gods pacified ;  
 Should they attack him in anger, he withstandeth their onslaught.  
 None among the gods can equal him  
 Who established for the gods the bright heaven.  
 He set them on the and ordained their paths ;  
 Never shall his deeds be forgotten among men.  
 Tutu as Zi-azag Hinog they named, the founder of pure life,  
 The god of the good wind, the lord of Mercy and Hearing,  
 The creator of Fulness and Abundance, the founder of Plenteousness,  
 Who turns that which is small to many.  
 In sore distress we inhale his favouring breeze.  
 Let them pay reverence, let them bow before him.  
 Tutu as Aga-azag (Holy Crown) may mankind fondly magnify.  
 The lord of the Holy Charm that gives life to the dead,  
 Who had mercy on the captive gods,  
 Who removed the yoke from the gods his enemies.  
 For their forgiveness did he create mankind,  
 The merciful one from whom is the state of life ;  
 May his deeds endure ; may they never be forgotten  
 In the mouth of mankind, whom his hands have made.  
 Tutu as Mu-azag, fifthly his ‘ Pure incantation hath destroyed all  
 the evil ones,’  
 Sag-zu (wise heart), who knoweth the heart of the gods, who seeth  
 into the innermost parts (mind),  
 The evil-doer goeth not forth with him . . .

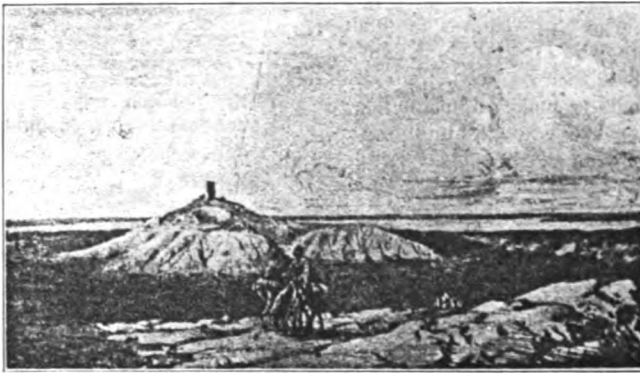
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\* The translation of Mr. King is found in “Seven Tablets of Creation,” pp. 94-113.

† Tutu is Zi-ukkia, “the life of the host (of the gods).”

[The tablet now becomes very broken and only isolated epithets can be selected, but those are of great importance.]  
 Subduer of the unrighteous, Director of Righteousness.  
 Who has destroyed all the wicked."

Not only have we this tablet in two or three copies, but Mr. King has found a large number of fragments of notes and commentaries on it, which show that it was very extensively studied. Some of these portions belong to the



BIRS NIMROUD, BORSIPPA.

Assyrian age (B.C. 668-625), some to the Neo-Babylonian empire (B.C. 606-538), some to the Persian and Sassanian, showing that this text was most extensively studied. From the tablets discovered at Borsippa it appears that there was a great literary activity in that centre of learning during the latter days of the Neo-Babylonian empire, and also during the reigns of Darius and Artaxerxes, the very period when the learned Jews would be in close contact with the Babylonians; and we know that Borsippa became the seat of a school of Talmudic learning of such importance that it earned for itself the title of "the eye of the law." The amount of magic folklore and mythology

which passed into Talmudic literature shows that there was an intercourse between the Hebrew learned men and those of Babylonia. The affinity of language, and we might say the affinity of religion—for during the last days of the Babylonian empire the creed was almost Monotheism, all being centred in Marduk—would lead to a reciprocity of ideas. In this tablet we see much that resembles Hebrew teaching. Marduk is the god of the pure and holy; he loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity; he is the creator of all, comforting the weak and afflicted; and all-wise, knowing the innermost thoughts of the heart. It is little wonder that the Jews were helped to develop the crude ideas of the tribal Yaveh they had carried into the higher plane of the national Yaveh and his chosen people, temple and city, with such teaching as is contained in this hymn around them; little wonder that the fiery trial and the intellectual intercourse of the Captivity produced one of the most astonishing changes in a nation's life that the world has ever seen! In this hymn to Marduk we read—

“Look favourably upon thy temple;  
 Look favourably upon thy city;  
 May he restore to his place the bolt of Babylon and the precincts of  
 E Sagila (temple of Marduk).  
 Look favourably upon the people of Babylon, whom thou lovest.”

The secret of the extraordinary change which came over the Hebrew people after the Captivity is now not difficult to explain. They saw that the secret of the immense success and vitality of the Babylonian empire lay in the centralization of a secular and religious life in the capital. Babylon was the dwelling-place of the nation's god, the source of all government; so Jerusalem and the temple became the focus of all the vital elements of Judaism. By his policy of centralization, instituted more than eighteen

centuries prior to the fall of Babylon, Khammurabi had laid the foundations of the first of empires on a basis which made it able to outlive all empires, and, even after its downfall, to so powerfully influence its conquerors as to leave an indelible mark on all the world's history.

But the Jews were not the only persons who were influenced by Babylonian literary culture. Under the Persians, the Greeks, and the Sassanians, literature and learning still flourished. I have already noticed some striking resemblances between the demonology of Babylonia and that of the Zoroastrian creed, and this seventh tablet affords some interesting parallels with the worship of Auramazda. Auramazda, "the all-wise god," the creator of heaven and earth, bears a striking resemblance to Ea, the "all-wise" culture-god of the Babylonians, whose epithets, titles, and powers were transferred to the great god Marduk. In this tablet we had, when complete, the fifty names of Marduk, resembling the hundred names of Allah in the Koran. Now, attached to the Avestic Auramazda were certain minor divinities, really personifications of the attributes of Auramazda. These were known as the Amesha Çpentas, "the holy immortals;" these were the gods of "good disposition," truth or law, wisdom, wealth, and delight of the beautiful. All of these we find in the epithets applied to Marduk in this hymn, and it is not improbable that this theology of the school of Babylon was known to the Zend scholars, who committed the Avestic to writing in the time of the Arcasidæ. We must remember that, under the Achæmanian kings, true Zoroastrianism had not certainly attained to the elaborate theology which was developed in later times, and the religion of the Persian inscriptions of Behistun and Persepolis is of a very crude and simple form.

I have left the Creation tablets proper until the end of this chapter, because in many respects they are the least important portion of the epic ; there being only two, the fifth, which records the creation of the heavenly bodies, and the small fragment of the sixth, which records the creation of man.



FIFTH CREATION TABLET.

The translation is as follows :—

He made the stations of the great gods,  
 The stars, their forms, as the stars of the Zodiac he fixed ;  
 He placed the year, and into sections he divided it.  
 For the twelve months he fixed three stars.  
 From the day the year begins, as . . . forms.  
 He fixed the station of Nibiri to determine their bounds ;  
 That none might err or go astray,  
 He set the stations of Bel and Ea along with him.  
 He opened great gates on both sides,  
 He made strong the bolt on the right and on the left,  
 In the midst thereof he fixed the zenith.

The Moon-god he caused to shine forth ; he entrusted to him the night.

He appointed him, a creature of night, to determine the days.

Every month without ceasing by his disk he regulated,

(Saying to him), ' In the beginning of the month, when thou shinest on the land,

Light thou the horns, to determine six days ;

On the seventh day . . . the disk,

On the fourteenth day thou shalt equal the half,

When the Sun-god on the horizon of heaven.' "

Here the parallel with the Hebrew account in Genesis i. 14-19 is very close, but there are some important differences. The order of the works of the Creator are exactly the opposite of those in the Hebrew. In the Babylonian it is stars, moon, sun ; in the Hebrew, sun, moon, and stars. The Babylonians were a race of astronomers, and knew that it was by the constellations that the paths of the heavenly bodies were measured. As in the Hebrew, the moon was to rule the night. The mention of the star Nibiru Mr. King regards as referring to the planet Jupiter, but I am inclined to think that here we have the crossing stars, or " the ferry boats," like the four solar boats on the Zodiac of Denderah that mark the solstices and equinoxes. The gates through which the heavenly bodies passed are often mentioned in the hymns, and we find them in the Book of Enoch also.

Passing now to the sixth tablet, of which Mr. King has found a small fragment, we come to the culminating work of creation—that of man.

In the Hebrew legends we have two accounts of the creation of man. According to the Elohist writer, man is created in the image of God (Gen. i. 27), and no specific detail is given of the act of creation. This making in the image of God implies a sonship, and one of the most common phrases in the religious texts is " man, the son

of his God." In the account of the Yahavist writer, man is created by a definite act and for a specific purpose. "And Yaveh formed man out of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7); and the specific purpose for which he was created was to till the ground, and especially the garden of Yaveh. Fortunately, we possess more than one Creation legend in the religious literature of Babylonia. The account in the sixth tablet here—

"That plan which he (Marduk) had conceived he imparted to (Ea).  
My blood will I take, and my bones will I fashion.  
I will make man ;  
I will create man, who shall inhabit the earth,  
That the service of the gods may be ordained and shrines founded."

Here man is created for the specific purpose of perpetual worship of the gods. The sonship of man is implied in the blood covenant which was established between the Creator and himself. According to Berosus, man was formed by the head of Bel being cut off, and the blood being mingled with the earth, man and the animals were created. In other forms of Babylonian mythology the creation of man was especially associated with Ea, and indeed in the seventh tablet, where the creation of man and the human race are attributed to Marduk, it is only by his inheriting the prerogatives of Ea. We notice in this fragment that Marduk submits his plan to Ea. Here we have the phrase, "In the mouth of mankind, whom his hands have made." In a hymn to Marduk (IV. R. 29, 1), the work of creation is also implied as being that of this god. Mankind, the human race (black-heads), and living creatures, as many as there are and exist on earth, "ate thine," that is, "owe their being to thee."



In the bilingual Sumerian and Semitic tablet, originally a document of the school of Ea of Eridu, we have a valuable



NEBO, THE SCRIBE-GOD.

passage. It reads, "(Then) he created mankind; the goddess Aruru together with him (the god) created the race of mankind; the beasts of the field and living creatures he formed."

The goddess Aruru is known to us from the third tablet of the epic of Gilgames, where, together with Ea, she creates the Satyr-like companion of the hero called Ea-bani (the creation of Ea). Here we read, "Aruru upon this forms a divine man (in the image of God?). Aruru washed her hands; she took a piece of clay and cast it upon the ground, and created Ea-bani." We see, then, that both versions of the creation of man in the Hebrew Genesis have their counterparts in the literature of Babylonia.

It is now time to generally consider the relation of the Babylonian and Hebrew literatures. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets show how great was Babylonian influence in Syria and Western Asia from about B.C. 2000 to about B.C. 1300. In most of the towns of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine were scribes who could read and write cuneiform. Their learning could not have been writing confined to secular literature, and at least some of them must have learned from Babylonian masters. The names of places

embodying the names of Babylonian divinities, such as Nebo, Anatum (Anathoth), Lakhmu, as in Bethlehem, Dagon and others, show how this influence was spread over the land. When the Hebrews conquered the land this influence could not have entirely been obliterated, and much legend and folklore lived on among the Canaanites. The laws of commerce were Babylonian, and probably the code of Khammurabi was in force in Canaanite tribunals. The Hebrews borrowed largely of this stock of culture ; the echoes of the Gilgames epic, the deluge, and dragon myths, and some form of cosmogony, would be accessible to them. When, during the Exilic and post-Exilic times, there was direct intercourse with the wise men of Chaldea, these traditions would be revised, edited, and systematized. This is especially the case with the priestly Elohistie traditions, which bear the imprint of the temple library. It was this influence which led to the prominence given to the Sabbath, for, although the Sabbath was a Babylonian institution, it was confined to the temple and the priestly king ; we have no trace of it in civil life, or have we any trace of the week. Everything points to the vast influence of Babylonia both in pre- and post-Captivity times on the literary development of the Hebrews.

A great point has been made of the discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna letters in Egypt, and we are told that they afford proof that Moses must have been able to study the primitive legends of Chaldea from cuneiform documents. There is not the slightest evidence of this. All the tablets from Tel-el-Amarna, with one exception, the copy of a letter to the Babylonian king, were documents which have been written in other lands and sent to Egypt. There have been no such documents found anywhere else than at Tel-el-Amarna, and by the time of Rameses II., the



APPENDIX A

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN ART IN  
RELATION TO EGYPT

**I** HAVE already described in Chapter III. the main improvements which were introduced into Egypt by the immigrants from the East, and the majority of these are such as would have appeared to have originated in the Mesopotamian valley or in the regions adjacent thereto.

There has, until recent years, been very little means of comparing early Egyptian and Chaldean art, for until the important explorations of M. de Morgan at Nagada, and of M. Amélineau and Professor Petrie at Abydos, there was nothing of Egyptian art older than the Fourth Dynasty (B.C. 3700), when art was very far advanced, and had become to a certain extent stereotyped. The important excavations made in 1898 by Mr. Quibell at El Ahmar, the ancient Hieraconpolis, however, resulted in the discovery of a number of art remains of a class hitherto quite unknown, and displaying a style of work quite different from that of the early dynastic times.

From the prehistoric tombs of Ballas and Nagada the explorers had obtained numbers of curious amulets in the form of thin plates of shale or slate, cut into the forms of animals—hippopotami, crocodiles, sheep, birds, turtles, fish, and other forms. These were not, as M. de Morgan suggests, amulets buried with the dead. Some appear, as Professor Petrie suggests, to have been buried with the dead for toilet purposes, being used as paint rubbers; but I doubt if this was their real import. The recent discoveries at El Fara in Babylonia of a very ancient cemetery of the pre-Sargonide age, that is, about the time of the

beginning of dynastic Egypt, show that paints were buried with the dead. The large jars of fat found in the tombs in Egypt show that oil or fat was considered a toilet requisite which the departed would require; and, as I have already stated, oil was buried with the Babylonian dead.

The employment of slate or shale for artistic purposes, however, underwent a very considerable development in the ages immediately preceding the age of Mena. At Hieraconpolis a

SLATE TABLET OF NARMER.



number of large slate plaques, sculptured on both sides with scenes, were found by M. Quibell and other explorers, and are now in the Museums of London, Paris, and Cairo.\* These curiously decorative objects represent the earliest Egyptian art, and are unique both in execution and conception.

\* A valuable paper on these "Slate Tablets," with illustrations of all known fragments by Mr. E. Legge, will be found in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xxii. (1900).

5. Firstly, we must notice the general arrangement of the scenes on the obverse of the plaque. Like the early Chaldean stele, such as the Stele of the Vultures, it is arranged in tiers, each dealing with some special incident. The upper portion of both obverse and reverse is surmounted by two heads of the sacred cow, symbolical of the goddess Hathor. Now, Hathor was essentially a goddess of the East to the Egyptians, and with Isis she shared the special rôle of mother goddess. Her name





(), Het Heru, "House of Horus," that is, the "womb that bore Horus," seems also to have a foreign origin. It must be remembered that in early dynastic times in Egypt Horus, not the youthful Horus, the "Heru-pa-ψrat," "Horus the Child," or Horus the son of Isis, was the chief god—that is, Horus the old hawk sky-god. As the mother of Horus, the sky-goddess Hathor stood at the head of the female divinities, and her name, or rather its ideographic representation, bears a curious resemblance to the name of the mother in Babylonian—that is, , "house-god," or "goddess of the house," but also "the womb as the abode of the god." Hathor was the goddess of the East, where she was the protectress of mines and mountains, and especially when associated with "Supt," the hawk whose figure is sculptured over the mines and quarries in Egypt and Sinai. She bears a close resemblance in this respect to the Sumerian goddess Nin Kharsag, "the lady of the mountain," one of the earliest female divinities of Chaldea. As Hathor and the Hathors nursed the ancient Pharaohs, so the earliest kings of Babylonia claimed to be nourished by the milk of the goddess Nin Kharsag, "the lady of the mountain." The Hathor heads on this plaque remind one of the demons' heads on the curious bronze funeral tablets which I shall describe shortly. The false door, in which is inscribed the royal name Nar-mer (), would seem to indicate the funereal character of the plaque.

Passing to the second tier, we have a more elaborate tableau, representing, as M. Naville says, a festival, possibly that of Shes

Heru (), or "followers of Horus," a name given to the Eastern immigrants into Egypt. The arrangement of this tableau

Y

calls to mind the group on the plaques of Ur Nina (see p. 47). The most prominent figure in the scene is that of the king, who wears on his head the red crown of Northern Egypt. He is dressed in a tunic, fastened on the left shoulder, and leaving the right arm bare. Over this a kilt, secured by a broad belt; fringed and decorated with a woven cord pattern. From the belt hangs behind a long tail of hair, the origin and symbolism of which is still obscure, although it survived until later times in Egypt. He wears greaves on his legs, but no shoes. Both on obverse and reverse his sandal-bearer is represented as following him. On the obverse, in his right hand he holds a scourge of three thongs, and in his left a knob-headed mace. The group, which is partly duplicated on the reverse, is evidently the standard from which the representations of the Pharaohs were derived. As I have already said, the sculptures of Naram Sin and Annubani, the King of the Lububini, set the model for all the rock sculptures of Western Persia, until almost the Christian Era, so this group is repeated in all the victory tablets of the Egyptians. The scourge which the king holds in his hand, afterwards replaced by the *whip* ()<sup>1</sup>, Xu, held alike by men and gods, recalls the epithet applied to the Babylonian Sumerian kings of "Scourge of Sun-god." The mace is, of course, common to Egypt, Babylonia, and pre-historic Susa, but on this point I shall have more to say. Behind the king is his sandal-bearer, who carries also in his hand a libation vase, with a spout, which calls to mind the libation vase of the nude figure in the stele of Ur Nina (p. 47). Before the king is a female figure, possibly, as M. Naville suggests, the queen, and above her head the name Thet ()<sup>2</sup>. Before this female walk four standard-bearers, as the standard-bearers follow Naram Sin in the Susa monuments (p. 129). Two standards are hawk-headed, and may represent the hawks of Upper and Lower Egypt, or the bittern of Hieraconpolis, with which we may compare the hawk or eagle talons of Nin Sugir, carried by him on the Stele of the Vultures, or on the mace of E-Annadu. The other two are the jackal of Anubis and the emblem of Khensu. All the standard-bearers are bearded, except the one who bears the standard of Khensu. As Khensu was the young moon, the child, a beardless youth, may have been his standard-bearer.

The procession is making its way to a group of ten headless corpses, with the decapitated heads placed between the feet. The suggestion made by Mr. F. Legge, that this represents a human sacrifice, is worthy of careful consideration. The massacre of the defeated by E-Annadu, represented on the Stele of the Vultures, where they are enclosed in a huge net, and being brained by the king, was most certainly a victor's holocaust.

The next tier is a mythological or grotesque tableau. In the centre are two panthers (not lions), with grotesquely elongated necks twisted round the centre orifice of the plaque. There is a somewhat similar group in Plate II. of the same paper, where we have lions whose elongated necks terminate in serpents' heads. These curious composite animals are not unknown to Babylonian art, and M. Leon Heuzey has found one curious seal which presents an almost similar group.\* On archaic seals, too, from Chaldea, these grotesque animals are frequently represented.† Both in Egypt and Chaldea grotesque animal forms figure frequently in the magical texts, and are represented on such monuments and the boundary-stones, which are inscribed with imprecatory formulæ against those who injure these important monuments.

The next tier represents a curious scene—a huge bull, no doubt, symbolical of the king in his title of "divine bull," attacking a town, the walls of which he is goring down with his horns. Here, again, there seems to be a parallel to Babylonian ideas—the kings assumed the title of "mighty or furious bull" (*buru ikdu*), while Khammurabi calls himself "the mighty bull who gores his foes" (p. 165, para. xiv.). With regard to the reverse, there is little which calls for comment, as it is more Egyptian in character, and forms the type of all the victorious royal monuments of the Egyptian empire.

Among the slate tablets from Hieraconpolis is one fragment which is especially interesting for its correspondence to Babylonian art of the earliest period. This fragment represents a battle-field, where the slain are being devoured by lions and vultures, and

\* *Comptes Rendu de l'Academie des Inscriptions* (January, February, 1899), Quarterly Series, t. xxvii. p. 61, *sqq.*

† Menant, "Art Glyptique," Nos. 38, 101.



when we compare it with a scene on the Stele of the Vultures, the similarity of treatment is most striking. Here, as Mr. Legge remarks, the enemy are distinctly African or negro in type, and the scene may represent the driving of those people from the Nile valley. In the Babylonian scene the corpses are beheaded, but in the Egyptian the bodies are not mutilated. We must remember the Babylonian dread of the unburied dead made mutilation and neglect of burial a terrible punishment, which excluded the soul of the deceased from rest in the next world.

It may be mentioned also that the treatment of the lion in this ancient Egyptian fragment is remarkably Babylonian in style, and not like the general Egyptian representations of that animal.



SLATE TABLET FROM HIERACONPOLIS.

I regret very much that I have been unable to obtain a photograph of the Stele of the Vultures, as many more points of similarity between early Babylonian and Egyptian art might be indicated. The fragment of the monument which represents the slain mutilated and devoured by vultures certainly bears a close resemblance to the Egyptian plaque. This association of the vulture with battle carnage continued to Assyrian times, and figures of vultures flying over the battle-fields are to be found on the sculptures of Assurnazirpal (B.C. 885), from his palace at Nimroud, in the British Museum.

Another point of resemblance or possible association between Babylonian and Egyptian art is found in the ivory carvings.

Among the objects found at Abydos and Nagada are a number of ivory feet, used for caskets or for models, of the funeral couch of Osiris. These are in most cases bulls' feet, though sometimes lions' feet bear a marked resemblance to the Assyrian and Baby-

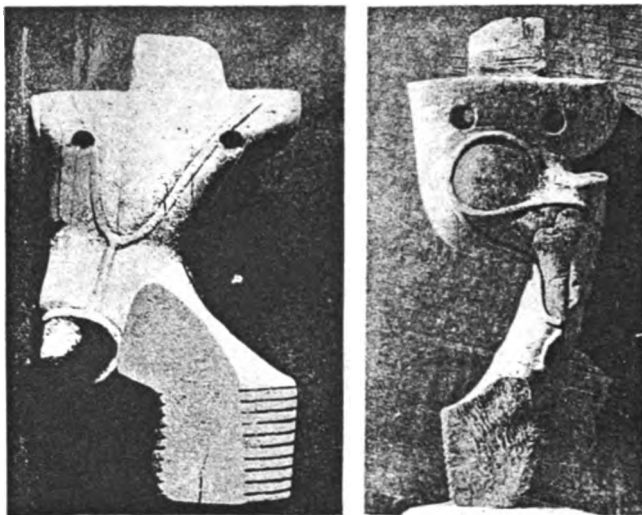


FRAGMENTS OF THE STELE OF THE VULTURES.

lonian feet of these animals, used for furniture. It is to be noted that the throne of Osiris in heaven was said to have "the feet of a bull," like the god Se-maur.

To sum up the general results of these notes. Although we

can in no way show a direct intercourse between the time of Narmer and the rulers whose art remains are found at Hieraconpolis, yet there are many features in the work which are not Egyptian, and in the majority of cases these are also to be found in Babylonian art of a nearly contemporary age.



IVORY FEET OF FUNERAL COUCHES FROM ABYDOS.

APPENDIX B  
FOUNDATION CEREMONIES



**A**MONG all the nations of antiquity the ceremony of the foundation of a building, whether a private house, a palace, or a temple, was a work of great importance, and attended with a distinct ceremonial. For the erection of a private building we know that the first step was the erection of a shrine to the family god, thereby taking possession of the

land and consecrating it to the domestic deity. This custom resembles that of the Hebrew patriarchs, who, on halting at any place in their wanderings, at once erected upon the spot an altar to Yaveh, as in the case of Abram (Gen. xii. 8) at Bethel. In the case of royal or sacred edifices the ceremonial was of a more elaborate character. The ritual of the foundation ceremonial was established at a very early period, certainly as far back as the age of Gudea (B.C. 2800), who gives minute details of the foundation of the temple of Nin-Sugir at Sirpurra, and there appears to have been little variation of it (except in grandeur) during the whole period of the Babylonian empire. Recent discoveries at Nippur, especially the discovery of a cylinder of Nabupalassar (B.C. 625-606), which describes the restoration of the temple of Marduk, throw much valuable light upon the subject, and enable us to explain much of the ceremonial; and also, for the first time, to ascertain the use of certain curious statues found in the lower courses of the walls of Babylonian temples and palaces. In the foundations at Tello or Sirpurra, at Sippara, and other cities, there are often found small statuettes representing a semi-nude figure bearing on its head a basket filled with some substance. These canephoroi have hitherto not been explained, but we now are able to ascertain their use. The fine stele which heads this section represents Assurbanipal performing the foundation ceremonies connected with his restorations of the temple E-Sagila—the temple of Marduk. The king is stripped to the waist, and bears on his head a large basket. This ceremony is well explained by the inscription of Nabupalassar, mentioned above. This temple was called E-TEMEN AN-KI, “the House of the Foundation of Heaven and Earth.” Thus the king speaks—

“Then on that day the House of the Foundation of Heaven and Earth, the stage-tower of Babylon, which from old time had decayed and fallen, its foundation was on the surface of the deep, from the basement to the summit I raised it. Marduk, my lord, spake to me (various words). With ivory (elephants’ teeth), hard wood, and palm wood, this I made. Many workmen, the corvee of my land, I raised; with clay I caused bricks to be made, and fashioned burnt bricks. Like unto the summit of heaven, without count bitumen and mortar, by the river Arakhtu I caused to be carried.

"By the skill of Ea, by the wisdom of Marduk and the deep knowledge of Nabu and Nissaba, with many bricks, for the god my creator I caused it to be done, and for my great project I founded it.

"Skilled workmen I urged on. . . .

"By the magical knowledge and wisdom of Ea and Marduk that holy place I made splendid, and in the primeval deep placed its foundation. Gold, silver, and stones (products) of mountain and sea in its foundation I deposited, precious . . . pure oil, milk, and honey beneath the bricks I poured.

"A statue of my royal self, carrying a basket, in the foundation I placed.

"To Marduk, my lord, I bowed my neck, and the robe, the covering of my majesty, I laid aside; bricks and clay on my head I carried.

"Nebuchadnezzar, my first-born son, the beloved of my heart, brought clay; wine, oil, and blue stone, with my workmen, I caused him to carry.

"Nabu-šum-li-šir, his own brother, the flesh-begotten of my body, his junior, my beloved, woods I caused him to carry; a basket of gold and silver I placed, and to Marduk, my lord, as presents I gave."

Here, then, we have the explanation of the canephoric figures. They represent the king taking part, as a workman, in the foundation of the temple of his god. This explanation is extremely interesting, because we find exactly the same ceremonies in use in Egypt. On the walls of the temples at Denderah and Edfu we have depicted the ceremonial of laying the foundation of the temple. Although these scenes belong to the Roman age, they depict the same ceremonial which had been in use from the earliest Pharaonic times. We see the king breaking the ground, making the first brick for the terminus wall, mingling the clay with incense, and pouring out libations over the stones.\* Here we have probably another ceremonial introduced by the brick-building people from Asia. We gain many more interesting details as to the foundation ceremonies from other inscriptions, notably from those of Gudea.

As became a people so addicted to magic as the ancient

\* Dumiechen, "Bau Inschriften von Denderah and Edfu."

Sumerians, it was of the utmost importance to select a propitious day for laying the foundation, and the favourite month seems to have been the brick-making month of Sivan (May-June), when the clay deposits were moist for brick-making. This was the month when Sargon II. laid the foundation of his new palace, Dur-Sargina, at Khorsabad. There was first the casting of omens to select a fortunate month and a propitious day in that month. In the omen calendars in the British Museum we have references to certain days being favourable or unfavourable for building operations. In the inscriptions of Gudea we are told that he selected a propitious day in the beginning of the year. The day was a public feast, and we are told that for "seven days obedience was not exacted, and the slave was the master and mistress." The expression used in the Assyrian inscriptions, that the ceremonies were accomplished with "music and joy and gladness," also denotes the public character of the festival. One of the most curious features was the expulsion of all evil-disposed persons from the city. We read, "He purified the city and cleansed it; he laid the foundations of the temple, and deposited the foundation cylinder. The servants of demons, those who invoked the dead, the witches, he banished from the city." Another care was taken that no burial was to take place at the time of the ceremony. These precautions show how deeply the idea of magic lay at the basis of the ceremony. This same superstition was found in Egypt, where it is more fully explained. In almost all the great temples of Nile-land heaps of foundation deposits are found. These consist of small specimens of all the materials used in the building—models of tools used in the work of construction. The Egyptians believed that all these objects possessed a *ka*, or spirit, as did also the temple itself, and they believed also that these materials and tools would spiritually minister to the restoration of the temple. Some such idea seems to have been current in Babylonia and Assyria. For this reason the materials carried in the baskets were placed in the foundations; and Sargon placed small votive tablets of gold, silver, copper, lead, marble, and alabaster below the floors of the palace at Khorsabad. The small clay tools found by Mr. Taylor at Abu Sharain or Eridu, that is, adzes, nails, hammers, etc., were probably a foundation deposit

like those of the Egyptian temples ; but this is not certain until some more systematic exploration of Babylonian temples is undertaken.

Another interesting custom was the burial of certain statues of gods, either beneath the threshold or in the walls, to protect the edifices. Thus we find statues—small teraphim figures—of Bel, Ea, and the fire-god placed in the foundations at Sirpurra and Khorsabad. In the magical texts these are often referred to, while the custom seems to have been borrowed by the Jews, who placed small pieces of parchment, on which the Holy Name or certain portions of Scripture were written, above their doors or in the side walls. The same custom survives among the Arabs to this day in Aleppo Damascus, Bagdad, and other truly Oriental towns. Perhaps it is to the same superstition that we can trace the Christian custom of placing statues of saints around the doors of churches and cathedrals.

The majority of the foundation ceremonial, in so far as it relates to magic, is to be traced to the old Animistic creed of the Sumerian population, who lived in constant dread of evil spirits and demons, who could creep through crevices and cracks in the walls, whom no bolt or bar could exclude. Other customs, such as the sacrifice of victims and sprinkling the stone or foundation cylinder with their blood, the anointing with oil, wine, or honey, are rather to be ascribed to the Semites. One interesting custom referred to in the ritual tablets, which was especially designed to protect the palace or any house, was the sacrifice of a lamb and the sprinkling of the door-posts and lintel with its blood, which calls to mind the Hebrew paschal sacrifice and the marking of the houses with the blood. One important point must be noticed—we do not see any trace of human sacrifice in connection with foundation ceremonials, which certainly are found among more savage nations. The solution of the use of these curious canephoric statues is now found, and it brings with it many interesting illustrations of customs not extinct even at the present time.



## APPENDIX C

### THE LEGEND OF DEATH

**I**N the year 1879 I saw in the collection of M. Peretie of Beyrout a curious bronze plaque said to have been found at Hamah, the ancient Hamath, on which was represented a series of scenes representing the Babylonian legend of death. This interesting object has now passed into the collection of M. de Clercq of Paris, and has often been figured in works on Babylonian art. Although the tablet is certainly in Babylonian style, I have still much doubt as to its being essentially Babylonian. Recently a duplicate, which Dr. Schiel regards as being older, has been found at Zerghül, near to Tello; but still this does not seem to me to confirm its great antiquity.

The reverse of the tablet is occupied by a fine representation of a Babylonian demon with a dog or lion's body terminating in the claws of a bird. The figure has four wings, and, standing erect, grasps with its arms the top of the tablet and shows its grinning lion's head over the top. The figure, like most Babylonian deities and demons, has two pairs of wings. In the Zerghül duplicate the angles of the obverse are terminated in two grotesque demon's heads, like the Hathor heads on the tablet of Narmer.

On the obverse we have a series of scenes arranged in five tiers or parallel bands.

In the first we have the emblems of the gods. The horned cap, usually the emblem of Bel; the serpent-headed staff, the caduceus of Nebo or Ea; the thunderbolt of Adad or Rimman, the solar dish, the crescent moon of Istar, and the seven planets—perhaps the Kabiri. One point which seems to me to indicate

the fact that the plaque does not belong to the early Chaldean age, is the introduction of the winged disk, such as we find in



BABYLONIAN BRONZE FUNERAL TABLET.

the Assyrian sculptures of the ninth century, and of which I do not know an example earlier.

In the second tier we have a group of seven animal-headed

figures, with their right hands raised in a threatening manner. The sculpture is too mutilated for us to recognize the animals' heads, but we can certainly see a serpent, and also a bird-headed figure. These are certainly the seven demons, "the offspring of Arali," the grave, who figure so prominently in the magical texts, and who were the opponents of the gods and the implacable foes of man both in this world and the next.

The third tier is perhaps the most interesting of all, as it represents a religious or magical scene.

In the centre of the scene is the funeral couch, on which is the body of a man wrapped in linen bandages like an Egyptian mummy. At the head and foot stand fish-headed creatures, either priests of Ea or his ministers. One of these holds in his hand a branch, probably that of a tamarisk—which was so extensively used in Babylonian magic. The two appear to have been performing some ceremony to bring the dead back to life, for it is to be noticed that the head of the supposed dead body is raised. Behind the figure at the head is a small pedestal, on which are apparently some burning objects, no doubt to be used in the working of the spell.

We now come to a very interesting group, in the right-hand corner of the tier. Here we have two lion-headed demons, who appear to be engaged in an angry altercation. These, no doubt, are the demons who have been expelled from the body, and behind them is a small bearded figure. This I take to be the *ckimmu*, the *ka*, or some double of the deceased which has been separated or taken from the body by death, and over which the struggle between the priests of Ea and the demon is being waged.

The fourth tier is full of matter of weird interest. On the left is a lion-headed, winged, and bird-footed demon, similar to that which is represented on the reverse. This I take to be Namtar, the demon of death. The most important figure in the group is in the centre. We have here a huge female figure, lion-headed and bird-clawed, who grasps in her hand two serpents and suckles at her breast two young lions. It is a strange, complex figure such as only religio-magic cones produce, and certainly at variance with the work of very ancient Babylonian times. In the De Clerq tablet the figure is represented standing on the back of a horse, but this is omitted in the Zerghül tablet.

The whole group is standing in a boat with elevated prow and stern, the former of which terminates in a serpent's head, the latter in a bull's head.

This curious creation is certainly to be identified with Allat, or Eris-kigal,\* the wife of Nergal, the god of the dead, or ruler of the city of the dead. His name means "lord of the city of the dead," or "the great city," while her name means "bride of the pit;" and we know from the tablet of the descent of Istar into the under-world that Namtar was her special messenger. As Nergal had for his symbol the lion, so she is represented as a "lioness," or a "woman-lion." One of the names of Nergal was "Ir-kalla," the great eater, reminding us of the riddle of Samson.

The most important feature in the group which enables us to approximately settle the date is the "horse" on which the goddess stands, and the horse-hoof which appears among the funeral offerings. We have no mention of the horse as a domesticated animal until the time of Khammurabi, and then it was especially used for war; in fact, its usual epithet was "the horse glorious in war" (*na'id ina gabli*). Horses are mentioned in the magical texts, but here they appear as strange wild animals, to which the demons are compared. "They are horses reared among the hills," † and the Sumerian name of the horse is "the ass of the mountains or East." The earliest representation of the horse is in a curious pegasus figure on a boundary stone of Meti-sikhu in the British Museum, dating, therefore, about B.C. 1300. On the boundary stone of Nebuchadnezzar I. (B.C. 1120) there is a horse-god figured on a stele as the god of the horse-breeding district of Namar and the city of Bit-kazi-yatšu, in Eastern Elam, so I should not place this plaque later than B.C. 1500 to B.C. 1800 at the most.

The offerings spread out show that we have the funeral stele of a warrior. The quiver and the horse's foot can clearly be distinguished; while a wine-jar, and beer-jar, and flat cake of bread, recall the Egyptian funeral offerings.

The river on which the barque of the dread goddess floats is the river of death, Datilla, which circled the outer wall of the

\* A tablet relating to Eris-kigal was found at Tel-el-Amarna, and Mr. Legge has shown that the name survived in Gnostic papyri.

† Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

Seven-cycled Arali, or Hades. The two tree-stumps probably correspond to the two tree-gods Tammuz and Giz-zida, who guarded heaven.

The tablet, regarding which much has been written,\* preserves Babylonian eschatological traditions in a very mixed style, and seems to me to be the work of some alien race, possibly Kassite.

\* *Clermont Ganneau Revue Archæologique*, 1897, pp. 337, *et seq.*; Perrot and Chipiez, "Chaldean and Assyrian Art," vol. i. p. 349; Jastrow, "Babylonian and Assyrian Religion," pp. 578, *et seq.*; *Boscawen Journal*, Palestine Exploration Fund, 1882.

## APPENDIX D

### THE DELUGE LEGEND

**T**HE deluge legend, which is found in the eleventh tablet of the Gilgames-Nimrod epic, is so manifestly a pre-epic fragment, which has been interwoven to suit the zodiacal or climatic arrangement of the poem, that it is best treated of separately. The fact of its being an interpretation is shown by the story being lined or paragraphed off from the rest of the text in two of the copies which have come down to us from the Royal Library of Nineveh.

Like the Cosmic epic, the deluge story has passed through at least two stages of development before it reached the classical form in which it was incorporated. In the earliest stage it was a storm-myth based upon those terrible winter storms which during the months of December and January sweep down upon the Babylonian plain from the highlands of Western Persia. It is these storms that we find in the magical tablets identified with the terrible destruction-bringing storm-gods, and we can trace the influence of these ancient hymns in the later text.\*

As in the deluge tablet, we find Adad, or Rimmon, directing the terrible storm. "Adad within it thundered;" so the storm demons are the associates and servants of this god in the old magical texts.

Thus we read—

"These seven are the messengers of Anu the king,  
Bearing gloom from city to city.  
Thick clouds that cast gloom over the sky,  
Whirling wind-gusts, causing darkness on the brightest day,

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\* See Col. II., lines 26-47.

Forcing their way with baneful wind-storms.  
The inundation of Adad, are they mighty destroyers ;  
At the right hand of the storm-god they march.\*

In course of time the old nature-myth of the terrible storms in the winter months, and especially in the "month of the curse of rain," or Sebat, "the month of destruction," became affected by the transition of magic and demonology into religion. And there grew up the tradition of a special deluge, sent as a punishment for the sin of mankind. This conception would naturally grow out of the older magic, for the terrible storms must express the anger of the gods with man ; and the trouble and sickness they caused must be a punishment for some wrong-doing on his part.

Just as the nature-myth of the wars between chaos and cosmic order, or darkness and light, gradually became by religious influence transformed into the dualism of the conflict between good and evil, so the storm now becomes the divine means of punishment. The hero Gilgames, who has journeyed to see the only mortal who could tell him the secret of immortality, Šamaš-napišti (Living Sun), the Chaldean Noah induces him to tell the story of his preservation ; thus :—

"Šamaš-napišti spake thus to the Gilgames—  
I will tell to thee, Gilgames, the treasured story,  
The decision of the great gods I will reveal to thee.  
The city of Surippak, a city which thou knowest, is situated on the  
bank of the Euphrates.  
That city was evil, and the gods within it decided to cause a deluge.  
All the great gods, Anu their father, Bel the warrior, their counsellor,  
The throne-bearer, Ninip ; their leader, En Nugi,  
The lord of wisdom ; and communed with them.  
Their command he repeated—  
' Reed hut, reed hut, brick-house, brick-house ;  
Reed hut, listen ; brick-house, give heed.' †  
O man of Surippak, son of Ubara Tutu, ‡

\* Thompson, "Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia," p. 91.

† Haupt very ingeniously suggests the comparison with the words of Isaiah i. 2. : "Hear, heavens, and give ear, O earth."

‡ Servant of Marduk, but originally "Servant of Ea," Tutu being a title of Ea.

Erect an edifice, build a ship,  
 Abandon your property, lay hold of life,  
 Cast aside your wealth, and save life,  
 Load the ship with living creatures of all kinds.  
 The ship which thou shalt build,  
 Carefully measure its dimensions ;  
 Equal its breadth and length ;  
 On the ocean cause it to ride.  
 I pondered, and said unto Ea, my lord,  
 The command thou spakest unto me  
 I will obey, and will execute it, (but)  
 'What shall I say unto the city, the people, and the elders ?'  
 Ea opened his mouth, and said—  
 He spake unto me, even me, his servant,  
 'Thus shalt thou answer, and speak unto them.'  
 Bel hath rejected me in his anger ;  
 No longer can I set my face in Bel's land."

The opening portion of this text has many points of interest when compared with the Hebrew accounts. We notice that the deluge was sent by the gods for the wickedness of the people of the city of Surippak, a city which has not as yet been identified. According to the account here given, the gods in council decide upon the punishment of men by a deluge, but the leading instigator is the god Bel. This is the old Bel, the Mullil of the Sumerians, the lord of the world, and especially the affairs of the world. He was also the lord of the ghost-land, and under him were all the demons. His act of vengeance seems almost personal, for Ea addresses him thus: "Ea opened his mouth and spake a word to the warrior Bel (saying), Wherefore, wherefore didst thou not consider, and thou hast made a deluge, and thou a counsellor of the gods, O warrior." Again, on the sacrifice of thanksgiving, we find Bel excluded from the sacrificial feast. "May Bel not come to my altar, because he did not consider, and made a deluge, and appointed my people for destruction." The explanation of this prominence of Bel, the old god of Nippur, is not difficult to explain; in the light of recent discoveries, the oldest form of the deluge legend was exclusively like the storm-myths and the oldest cosmic legends, a product of the School of Eridu, but in course of time that school was replaced by the Northern School of Nippur, and a rivalry existed between the two which never ceased until the two



were fused into one in the theological School of Babylon. We now come to the *rôle* of Ea, the creator and protector of mankind. "He it is who intervenes to deliver Šamaš-napišti and all belonging to him from the terrible deluge and destruction. He warns the sage of the coming destruction; and as the god of the sea, the patron of boatmen and sailors instructs him to build a ship—for the Chaldean vessel is distinctly a ship with masts, decks, etc., and a pilot. The vessel in the Hebrew account is described in a very abstract manner as a box (תֵּבָה), a word also used for the ark of bulrushes in which Moses was placed. The use of this word may be derived from the peculiar box-shaped form of the ark of Šamaš-napišti on some of the gems (see p. 288). I would make the suggestion that it is connected with *dup*, or *tup*, the Sumerian word for "a reed basket," and as the oldest boats of Babylonia were made, and still are made, of reeds covered with bitumen, the word may have been preserved in this way.

We now find Ea assuming the *rôle* of protector of mankind, and especially of Šamaš-napišti and his family. Much has been made by writers of the polytheistic character of the Babylonian legend, but it is far less prominent than it first appears. The *rôle* of Ea is exactly that of the Hebrew Yaveh. He it is who warns man of the coming deluge, and through him are conveyed all the orders as to the construction, provisioning, and voyage of the ark; and at the sacrifices of thanksgiving on the mountain of Preservation (*Nizir*) it is he who appeases the wrath of the offended god Bel, and brings about the translation of his faithful servant Šamaš-napišti. One very important point to notice is that the name of Marduk does not occur in the story, which shows that the composition is older than the epic age (about B.C. 2000), and had not come under the revision of the Babylonian priest-scribes, as had the Creation and other poems.

The building of the ark in the Babylonian account is essentially descriptive of the construction of a great boat or ship. It is built with six stories or decks, and each divided into six (or seven) compartments, and provided with a mast.\* Next, the vessel is

\* One reading says *pole*, and on one of the gems the Chaldean Noah is represented pushing his boat with a pole.

made water-tight with bitumen. Here we have a fact mentioned by the Elohist writer (Gen. vi. 14, 15) —

“ Six *sar* of pitch I poured on the outside,  
Three *sar* of pitch I poured on the inside.”

The Hebrew version is, “Thou shalt pitch it within and without with pitch” (vi. 15). A little sidelight is thrown on the importance of caulking by one of the laws relating to ships in the Code of Khammurabi, when we read (clause 234), “If a shipwright a vessel of sixty gur capacity has caulked for a man, two shekels of silver he shall give him.” In a tablet in the British Museum, the date of which is not given, but probably about B.C. 500, we have the record of 120 measures of bitumen for the king’s ships. Next we have the provisioning of the ark as in Gen. vi. 21: “And take thou unto thee all food that is eaten, and gather it to thee, and it shall be food for thee and them.”

The Babylonian account is more detailed—

“ The carriers brought three *sar* of oil into the ship,  
One *sar* I used for libations,  
One *sar* I stored away.  
I slaughtered oxen,  
I slew victims each day,  
New wine, sesame wine, oil and grape wine,  
This for the people to drink as the water of a river.  
I prepared a feast like unto that of the New Year.”

Next we have the embarkation of human and animal life—

“ All that I gathered together, all that I had of silver I gathered together.  
All that I had of gold I gathered together, all manner of the seed of life  
I caused to ascend into the ship; all my family and relatives, cattle of the field, wild beasts of the field, of every kind I caused to go up.”

These passages call for some comment. In the dual Hebrew accounts we have a marked difference. The Elohist (vi. 19-21) commands the preservation of the living creatures in pairs: “Every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort, shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive; they shall be male and female.” Here the writer is in agreement with the Babylonian writer, but

the Yahavist (vii. 2, 3) introduces a literal selection, distinguishing between the clean and the unclean, and ordering that seven of the clean or sacrificial animals should be preserved. The difference from the Babylonian account is only apparent, and both writers could obtain their material from the tablet. On the building of the ark, the first duty was to provide sacrificial material, wine, and oil, and victims, such as were used at the Babylonian festivals, where all animals must be pure. As this was a festal sacrifice, like unto that of the New Year, on entering the ark, so also on leaving it was there a festival. Here we read, "I offered victims. I built an altar on the peak of the mountain, and seven vases I set up, and into their bowls calamus, cedar, and sweet herbs I heaped up." Although no number is given for the victims, it is very reasonable to suppose that as seven is the prime number of all the calculations of the tablet, they also were offered by sevens.

Before passing to consider the very poetic account of deluge-storm, it is to be noticed that the poem is one belonging to an age of advanced civilization. Festivals are fixed; there is an organized priestly ritual, and a full pantheon; gold and silver are used, and workmen are employed. Such a civilization existed certainly from B.C. 3800.

The text resumes—

"The season the sun-god had appointed, and  
 Then a loud cry arose at eventide, causing it to rain from heaven  
 heavily.  
 Enter within the ship and close thy door.  
 That season drew near;  
 The loud cry in the eventide caused it to rain from heaven heavily.  
 Of that day I dreaded its appearance.  
 To look upon that day I had fear.  
 I entered into the ship and closed the door.  
 To direct the ship was Buzur Bel the boatman;  
 The great house I gave to his charge."

Now comes the storm—

"A loud cry arose at the dawn of light.  
 There were heaped upon the horizon of heaven black clouds.  
 Adad in the midst thundered.  
 Nabu and Sarru went in front.

Marched the throne-bearers over mountain and plain.  
 Nerra (Plague) pours out destruction.  
 Nergal went in front casting down all.  
 The spirits of heaven bore torches ;  
 In their fury they shook the earth.  
 The storm of Adad swept the sky ;  
 All light was turned to thick darkness.  
 Like a battle charge over men it swept ;  
 One saw not the other ; men no longer saw the sky.  
 Even the gods dreaded the deluge.  
 They took refuge and ascended to the heaven of Anu.  
 Like dogs the gods cowered and lay in heaps."

Here we have, as I have already said, a graphic description of one of those great winter storms which so often sweep over the plains of Chaldea—

"Shrieks Istar like a woman in child-birth.  
 Cries the great goddess with a loud cry.  
 All of former time as turned to clay.  
 Thus I in the presence of the gods proclaimed evil.  
 For the destruction of all mankind I proclaimed,  
 Yet I will give birth to men, even though,  
 Like the spawn of fishes, they fill the sea.  
 The gods, together with the spirits of heaven, wept with her.  
 The gods on their seats sat in tears,  
 Covering their lips. . . .  
 Six days and seven nights  
 Went forth the wind and deluge, and whirlwind swept (all).  
 On the arrival of the seventh day moderated the great deluge  
 That had warred like a great host.  
 The sea became quiet, and ceased the evil wind and great deluge.  
 I gazed (out) and saw the seething sea,  
 And all mankind turned to corruption.  
 Like reeds their corpses floated.  
 I opened a window, and the light fell on my face.  
 Overcome, I sat myself down, I wept,  
 Over my face flowed my tears ;  
 I looked to all regions, naught but sea.  
 After twelve double house arose an island.  
 The ship drew near to Mount Nizir ;  
 The mountain of Nizir held the ship ; to float it was not able. . . ."

The text then describes how for seven days the ship remained on the mountain.

We next have the incident of the sending forth of the birds, which in the Hebrew account is confined to the Elohist writer (viii. 6-12)—

"When the seventh day approached I sent forth a dove.

The dove went forth : it flew about, it returned because there was no resting-place.

I sent forth a swallow : the swallow went and flew about, it returned because there was no resting-place.

I sent forth a raven : it left, and the decrease of the waters it saw ; it ate, it floated, it returned not."

Here, instead of sending the dove a second time, we have the swallow sent forth. This is, no doubt, due to the Babylonian superstition regarding the swallow, which was called "the destiny bird." It is interesting to notice that Berosus preserves the bird tradition also. We read, "And when the rain ceased, Xisuthrus sent out some birds, but they returned back to the ship, as they could find nothing to eat, and no place of rest. After a few days he sent forth other birds. These also returned, but with mud on their feet. Then Xisuthrus sent forth others, and they never returned. Xisuthrus knew that the earth had appeared."\* The raven also was an omen bird among the Babylonians. In a magical text the raven is called "the bird that helped the gods," and it frequently appears in the magical texts.† Next comes the sacrifice of thanksgiving, the ritual details of which I have already described.

We have now a most important passage introduced—

"The gods smelled the odour, the gods smelled the sweet odour,

The gods swarmed like flies round the master of the sacrifice.

From afar in her coming the great goddess Istar (drew near) ;

She lifted up the great gems which Anu had made for his glory.

She spake, saying, These gods, by the precious stone on my neck,  
may I never forget.

These days, on which I ponder, may I never forget.

Let the gods draw near the altar ;

But let not Bel come to the altar,

Because he took not heed and made a deluge,

And counted my people for destruction."

\* Duncker, "Hist. Antiq." vol. i. p. 240.

† Thompson, "Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia," p. 28.

This intervention of Istar in the story is very interesting, and at the same time difficult to explain. Some light has, however, I think, been thrown on the Istar element in the story by the ancient poems, just acquired by the British Museum. One of these poems relates to a terrible flood which devastated the land, and which was removed by the intercession of the goddess Istar. Here she is called the "mother of mankind," and I am inclined to think that the intervention in the deluge story is to be traced to this old folk story.

However, her intervention forms a most important episode, for it explains the origin of the tradition of the rainbow in the Hebrew account. The passage, which reads, "She raised on high the gems which Anu had made for his glory," reads, "Išši (𒌷𒍪), *rabuti ũa Anum ibušu ana ũi-khi-su.*" The whole gist of the meaning of the sentence depends on the reading of the ideographic group 𒌷𒍪. This group nearly resembles that for bow (𒌷𒍪), *kaštu*, the Hebrew *kašeth*. That an error might have arisen, a still more valuable explanation, however, is forthcoming. The group first is explained by *namzabi*, "a sacred stone or pillar," the Hebrew מַצֵּבָה (*matsebah*). The *matsebah* was the conical sacred stone anointed with oil, and used as the stone of covenant. The stone anointed with oil glistened with rainbow colours, and thus the bow in heaven came to be regarded as a vast covenant stone set up in heaven. This certainly explains the words in Gen. ix. 14: "The bow shall be seen in the cloud, and I will remember my covenant which is between me and you." This solution is still more confirmed by the next line, where we read, "These gods" (that is, the gods who had caused the deluge), "because of the crystal or gem which is upon my neck, may I never forget." The goddess is here following a Babylonian custom of swearing by one of those cone-shaped pendant miniature *matsebahs* which the Babylonians often wore on their necks as charms.

Here, again, we encounter a somewhat confused blending of the Ea and Bel or Mullil deluge traditions, and the variance between the Schools of Nippur and Eridu. Here the anger of Bel is aroused at the failure of his scheme to destroy all mankind.

"Bel from afar off on his approach beheld the ship resting (on the mountain).

His breast was filled with anger with the spirits of heaven.  
Wherefore has come forth a living thing, why has a man escaped  
destruction?

Adar opened his mouth and spake a word to the warrior Bel—  
Who but Ea could have done this thing?

For Ea knows all things.

Ea opened his mouth and spake a word to the warrior Bel—  
Thou counsellor of the gods and warrior,

Why, why didst thou not consider? and thou hast made a deluge.

Surely the doer of sin shall bear his sin, the doer of evil shall bear  
his evil.

Be merciful, cut not off entirely. . . .

Wherefore make a deluge? Let lions be increased, and let men be  
minished.

Where make a deluge? Let panthers(?) increase, and let men be  
minished.

Wherefore make a deluge? Let famine be established, the land  
washed.

Wherefore make a deluge? Let the plague increase, and men die.

I revealed not to (Adra-khasis) the secret of the great gods.

I sent to Adra-khasis a dream, and the secret of the great gods he  
heard."

The name Adra-khasis, "the reverent and wise," really an  
epithet, has been reversed and read *Khasis-adra*, and corrupted  
into Xisuthrus of Berosus.

The plea of Ea is most important, for here we see the source  
of the promise of Yaveh never again to smite the earth (viii. 27),  
but instead, the punishment of the wickedness of man is first  
assigned to individual responsibility, and the instruments of  
destruction confined to the dread Trinity of destruction which  
ever war against mankind—plague, pestilence, and famine. It is  
this Trinity of destruction that figures so prominently in the  
Hebrew writings; as, for example, in the punishment of David for  
numbering the people (2 Sam. xxiv. 13), where the alternative  
punishments offered to David for numbering the people are,  
"Seven years of famine, three months' harassing by the foe, or  
three days' pestilence." Or, considering the date, even more  
remarkable are the words of Ezekiel: "Therefore will I diminish  
thee; neither shall mine eye spare, nor will I have pity. A third  
part of thee shall die with the pestilence, and with famine shall  
they be consumed in the midst of thee: and a third part I will

scatter to the winds, and I will draw a sword after them (Ezek. v. 13). So also Ezek. vi. 12. Also, "I will consume them by the sword, and by famine, and by pestilence" (Jer. xiv. 12). The diminishing of mankind by wild beasts recalls the plague of lions on the Samaritan colonists (2 Kings xvii. 25). Practically the intercession of Ea meant that now no special terrible visitation such as the deluge would be employed to punish men, but that the ordinary forces of nature and the struggle for existence would accomplish the divine purpose. Šamaš-napišti speaks—

"Bel thus changed his plan, and came into the ship; he took my hand, and raised me up.

He raised up my wife also, and caused her to kneel beside me.

He turned towards us, placed himself between us, and blessed us,

(Saying), Hitherto Šamaš-napišti has been a mortal,

Now Šamaš-napišti and his wife shall be gods like unto us;

And Šamaš-napišti shall dwell in a remote (secret) place at the mouth of the rivers.

He took us, and in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers he caused us to dwell."

So ends the deluge episode which has been woven into the epic. The translation of the sage and his wife recalls that of Enoch, while the words used resemble those found in the story of the Fall: "Behold, the man has become as one of us."

There remains one other interesting point to be noticed. In the Babylonian account the ark rests on Mount Nizir. Was this a real region, or only a mythical mountain? In the Hebrew account of the deluge the Elohist writer calls the resting-place the mountains of Ararat (viii. 4). Berossus makes it the Gordyæan mountains, that is, the Kurdish mountains. Now, these traditions appear all to be late. From the description in the tablet it would appear that the mountain was especially associated with Bel, hence his anger at the escape of the sage and his family. The mountain of Bel, or the "Mountain of the World," was probably Rowandiz, which rose above the table-land, which was the native home of the Sumerian people long before they descended into the lowlands. It was the Olympus of the Babylonian mythology, where the gods met in solemn conclave, and is the "Mountain of Assembly" in the uttermost part of the North referred to by Isaiah (xiv. 13, 14). In the Assyrian



inscriptions of the middle Assyrian empire, which are so rich in geographical details, there is a region called Nizir, which lay to the north-east of Assyria, in Kurdistan—this may have supplied the tradition of the Gordyæan mountains which Berosus preserves ; and Hebrew and Christian traditions indicate Jebel Gudi in Mons Masius as the resting-place of the ark. The Ararat of the Bible lies still further north, and is the Uratu of the Assyrian inscriptions, to the north-east of Lake Van. This region was certainly not known to the early Babylonians in the epic or pre-epic ages, and, indeed, does not appear in the cuneiform inscriptions until the ninth century, and its mention in the Hebrew account indicates its late origin.

I am inclined, therefore, to think that Mount Nizir of the tablet is like the "Mountain of the World," the Babylonian Olympus a mythic site to which various locations were assigned by various theological schools at different periods. In the mythological texts it means the "Mountain of Preservation," and as such was located in or about the region regarded as the birthplace of the human race. With regard to the relation of the Hebrew and the Babylonian traditions, I must be brief in my remarks. The Babylonian account, like the Hebrew, is a composite document, containing two principal elements, (1) a tradition of a deluge, in which Ea plays the rôle of Yaveh in the Hebrew account, a story which proceeded from the School of Eridu, and which, like the Creation legends and the culture-myth, may have been accessible to Hebrew writers through Canaanite channels ; (2) a legend, in which Bel is the offended god, and in which sacerdotal editing was prominent. This may have been accessible to Hebrew writers from Assyrian sources, and to the exiles. Lastly, we have a very old flood-myth associated with Istar, which has also been drawn upon. Behind all these is the geological fact that at one time, and possibly at a time when man was living in the Persian Apennines, the plains of South Chaldea were submerged, and gradually the waters were drawn back by the accumulating alluvial. This tradition would account for the "Mountain of Preservation" being placed in the highlands to the north-east of Chaldea.

# INDEX

- ABEL**, 78  
**Abram**, 36, 39, 177, 208, 328  
**Abramic genealogies**, 31  
**Abu Hubba**. *See* Sippara.  
**Abydos**, 103, 105, 114, 319, 325  
**Adam**, 78  
**Adah**, 80  
**Agade**, 6, 65, 119, 127, 168  
**Agriculture**, 8, 43, 154, 227  
 — birthplace of, 141  
**Akkad**. *See* Agade.  
**Aleppo**, 331  
**Alluvial**, 1, 3, 5, 9  
**Amenophis III.**, 31, 37  
**Amenophis IV.**, xiv, 30  
**Ammurabi**. *See* Khammurabi.  
**Amraphel**, 177, 179  
**Amurru**, 20, 131  
**Anu-Banini**, 12, 130, 322  
**Anzan**, 60, 64  
**Anzanites**, 13  
 — language of, 14  
**Apirak**, 7  
**Arabia**, 1, 139, 161, 197, 331  
**Arabian dynasty of Babylon**, 61, 65, 168, 177, 279  
**Aram Naharaim**, 30  
**Ararat**, 348  
**Ardu-Naram-Susinak**, 11  
**Ark of the Covenant**, 181  
**Armenia**, 1  
**Assur**, 15, 18, 20, 186  
**Assurbanipal**, 14, 26, 328  
**Assurnazirpal**, 27, 32  
**Assyria**, ix, 9, 13  
 — foundation of, 15, 18, 20  
 — three epochs in history of, 16  
 — fertility of, 17  
 — buildings of, 17  
 — wars of, 26  
 — literature, v, 29  
**Astyages**, 14, 33  
  
**BABEL**, 119  
**Babylon**, 28, 164, 167, 169, 180  
**Babylonia**, alluvial site of, 1-4  
 — fall of dynasty, B.C. 742..13  
 — extent of, 39, 42  
 — art of, 326  
**Bagdad**, 331  
**Bakhtiaris**, 14  
**Bible**, x, 9, 31  
**Book of the Dead**, 5, 197, 268  
**Borsippa**, 29, 65, 264  
**Bricks**, early use of, 95, 97, 330  
**Burial customs**, 94, 104, 109, 124, 335  
  
**CAIN**, xii, 73, 78  
**Calah**, 15, 20  
**Calendar**, Babylonian, 146, 179  
**Calneh**. *See* Nippur.  
**Canals**, 8, 127, 189, 192  
**Capital punishment**, 204, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 226, 232, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 240, 251  
**Cattle**, 6  
 — census of, 153  
**Chaldea**, ix, 1  
 — produce of, 7, 9  
 — cradle of civilization, 48

- Chaldea, literature of, 265, 268  
 — art of, 319  
 Civilization, traditional beginning of, 66  
 Commercial documents of Babylonia,  
 51, 151, 155  
 Corn tariff, 143  
 Corvee for public works, 192  
 Creation legends, xi, xii, 67, 168, 275,  
 279, 288, 306, 313  
 Cuneiform writing, x, 38, 64, 65, 318  
 Curium, 39  
 Cush. *See* Kish  
 Cyprus, 39, 65, 127  
 Cyrus, 14, 170
- DAMASCUS, 331  
 Daniel, 305  
 Darius, 130  
 Death, legend of, 332  
 Decalogue, xii, xix  
 Deluge, the mounds of, 4  
 — legend of, x, xii, 5, 66, 285, 337  
 Denderah, 329  
 Dyala, 9
- EDEN, garden of, 48, 73, 74, 77  
 Edfu, 329  
 Education in Babylonia, 264  
 Egypt, ix, xvi, xviii, 1, 5, 40, 64, 88,  
 90, 105, 109, 116, 139, 147, 197,  
 205, 294, 296, 329  
 — prehistoric civilization of, 89  
 — colonization of, 95  
 — literature of, ix, 267  
 — art of, 319  
 Elam, 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 62, 65  
 Elamite dynasty of Babylonia, 179, 180  
 Elamites, language of, 14  
 overthrow of, 173, 174, 185  
 El Kosh, 22  
 Enoch, 79  
 Eponym Canon, 27  
 Erech, 4, 6, 80, 119, 168, 185, 192, 278  
 Eridu (Eri-dugga), xii, 4, 67, 169,  
 330  
 Esarhaddon, 28, 32  
 Esau, 78
- Eski Harran, 32, 39  
 Ethnology of Chaldea, 61  
 Euphrates, 1, 2, 48, 189, 191, 192
- FALL OF MAN, legend of, 73, 76  
 Flint implements, 59, 90, 106, 141  
 Foundation ceremonies, 327
- GAZA, 34  
 Goim. *See* Gutium.  
 Gudca, 40, 328, 329  
 — palace of, 136  
 — statue of, 138  
 Gutium, 14, 131
- HEZEKIAH, x  
 Hieraconpolis, 319, 320, 323  
 Hit, 2, 47  
 Hittites, 47, 63  
 Hosea, 21  
 Hunting, 37
- IRAQ, 4  
 Irrigation, 8, 189
- JABAL, 80  
 Jacob, 78, 153  
 Jareb, 21  
 Jehu, x  
 Jezebel, 78  
 Jokha, 4  
 Joseph, xv, xviii  
 Joshua, xx, 183  
 Jubal, 80
- KALAH. *See* Calah.  
 Kalkhu. *See* Calah.  
 Karibu-sa-Susinak, 11  
 Karun, 4  
 Kassites, 13, 61  
 Kerkha, 4  
 Khalpirti. *See* Apirak.  
 Khammurabi, code of, xii, xv, 6, 16,  
 18, 21, 170, 197, 341  
 — victories of, 174, 177, 181, 185  
 — administrative faculty of, 189, 193.  
*See also* "Laws."
- Kha-m-ūas, xvi  
 Kharran, 31, 37

- Khenoch. *See* Enoch.  
 Khu-en-Aten, 30  
 Khuzistan, 9  
 Kileh-Shergat, 16, 18  
 Kish, 39, 119, 170, 171, 191  
 Kurdistan, 1, 65  
 Kutha, 4
- LABAN**, 153  
 Lamech, 80  
 Land survey under Manistu-su, 143, 148  
 Larsa, 6, 176, 264  
 Laws respecting adoption, 213, 247  
 — — agriculture, 227  
 — — assault, 214, 248  
 — — commerce, 218, 231, 252  
 — — doctors, builders, etc., 215, 250  
 — — land, 159, 227, 254  
 — — marriage, 207, 236, 241  
 — — slaves, 217, 223  
 — — theft, 221, 223, 224  
 — — witchcraft, 220  
*See also* Khammurabi, code of.
- Lebanon, 17  
 Lugalzaggisi, 39, 120  
 Lulubini, 12, 322  
 Luristan, 1, 9, 65  
 Lybians, 46
- MAGAN**. *See* Sinai.  
 Magic, 270, 279, 329  
 Manistu-su, 6, 51, 143  
 Mardin, 20  
 Martu, 20  
 Melchizedek, xv  
 Merodach-baladan, 29  
 Mesopotamia, 5, 20, 47  
 Midian, xvi, 7, 40  
 Milukha. *See* Midian.  
 Mitanni, 30, 37  
 Mohammedan law compared with Babylonian, 207, 210  
 Mohammedans in Babylonia, 160  
 Mongol race in Chaldea, 60, 61, 63, 64  
 Moon-worship in Babylonia, 31, 80  
 Moses, xv, xvii, 183, 267, 318
- Mosul, 22  
 Mughier. *See* Ur of the Chaldees.  
 Music, 83
- NABONIDUS**, 32, 133, 170  
 Nabupalassar, 328  
 Nadu. *See* Nod.  
 Nagada, 96, 319, 325  
 Naharini. *See* Nari.  
 Nahum, 22  
 Naram Sin, 7, 10, 20, 39, 64, 128, 322  
 Nari, 30, 37  
 Nar-mer, 321  
 Nebuchadnezzar, xiv, 74, 133, 329, 335  
 Nile, 2, 5, 139. *See also* Egypt.  
 Nimrod, 15, 39, 119, 122, 277  
 Nineveh, 14, 18, 20, 21, 29, 186, 188, 337  
 Nin Sugir temple offerings, 7  
 Nippur, xii, 4, 6, 20, 119, 127, 169, 264  
 Noah, 9, 73, 282, 287, 340  
 Nod, land of, 79  
 Nuffar. *See* Nippur.
- OATH**, sanctity of, 203
- PALESTINE**, 20, 160, 177  
 Paschal lamb, 331  
 Pentateuch, xi, xv  
 Persia, 1  
 Phoenicia, 20  
 Phoenicians, 38  
 Pottery, origin of, 92  
 Poucht-e-Kouh, 4
- RAINBOW**, legend of, 345  
 Rameses II., xvi  
 Rehoboth-Ir, 15  
 Resen, 15
- SAMARAH**, 2  
 Samaš-napišti. *See* Noah.  
 Samson, xxi, 274, 284  
 Sargon I., xii, 6, 10, 20, 39, 64, 128  
 Sargon II., 20, 32, 39  
 Scythians, 33

Semites, xix, 12, 13, 21, 28, 61, 64, 65,  
273, 276  
Sennacherib, x, 4, 28, 174  
Seth, xii  
Shalmaneser, 27, 32  
Shem, 13, 62  
Shinar, land of, 1, 120, 179  
Sinai, xix, 7, 20, 40, 64, 105, 321  
Sin-mu-ballit, 177, 179  
Sippara, 4, 127, 201, 265  
Sirpurra, 6, 8, 20, 21, 127, 148, 328,  
331  
Sodom and Gomorrah, 306  
Stele, use of, 94, 103  
Stele of the Vultures, 123, 321, 324  
Subarti, 20  
Sumerians, 8, 28, 64, 65, 268, 273, 331  
Susa, 4, 7, 10, 13, 20, 59  
— destruction of, 14  
Syria, 64, 161  
Syrians, 38

TEL-EL-AMARNA, xv, xx, 30, 37  
Tel Ibrahim. *Sæ* Kutha.

Tello, 6, 8, 60, 98, 148, 328, 332  
Tie, queen of Egypt, 31  
Tiglath-pileser, 26, 36  
Tigris, 1  
— inundations of, 2  
Tubal-Cain, 80  
Tushrattu, 38

UR-BAHU, 134  
Ur Nina, 21, 105, 322  
Ur of the Chaldees, 4, 31, 39, 68, 132

WARKA. *Sæ* Erech.  
Wheat, 5, 107  
— indigenous home of, 9, 60, 141  
Witnesses in law-suits, 202, 220  
Women, position of, 155, 160, 206, 236  
Writing, pictorial basis of, 47, 56  
— development of, 53  
— inventors of, 63  
— Babylonian and Egyptian com-  
pared, 95

ZILLAI, 80

# MYTHOLOGICAL INDEX

(*Non-Babylonian names in italics*)

- AI (the bride), wife of the Sun god, 117, 167
- ADAD (Storm god), sometimes read Rimmon, 269, 288
- ADAH (Beauty), wife of Lamech, 81
- ADAPA, mythic ruler of Eridu, 69, etc.
- ADAR, war god, 77
- Ahriman*, form of Ahuramazda (*g.v.*)
- Ahuramazda*, supreme Persian god, 299
- ALLAT (goddess), queen of underworld and wife of Nergal. *See also* Eris Kigal, 110
- Amen Ra*, Egyptian Sun god, 169
- Amesha Spentas* (Immortal gods), Persian, 312
- ANGRO-MAYNUS, Persian spirit of evil, 298
- AN SAR, God of Heaven, 300, *et seq.*
- ANU, God of Heaven, 12, 13, 184, 294, *et seq.*
- ANUNIT, wife of Anu, 166, 167, 316
- ANUNNAKI, good spirits of earth, 163
- APSU, Primeval Ocean, 292, etc.
- ARAD-EA, the Chaldean Charon, 283
- ARALI, tombland, 336
- ARURU, goddess who creates man, 316
- ASARI, title of Ea afterwards applied to Marduk, 168, 316
- ATARPI (mythical person), read Atar Khasis by some, 77
- BAU, Sumerian goddess of Fertility, 134, 147
- BEL (God of the World), the older Bel, god of Nippur, the Mullil of Sumerians (*g.v.*), 12, 172, 184, 260, 261, etc.
- BEL (the Lord), title often applied to Marduk (*g.v.*)
- BELIT (Beltes), wife of older Bel.
- Daevas*, Persian demons, 298, 299
- DAGAN, Babylonian deity, sometimes identified with Dagon, but apparently female, 166
- DILRAT, planet Jupiter, 166
- EA (Water god), the oldest god of Babylonian pantheon cultus gods identified with Oan or Oannes, sacred city Eridu, 12, 67, 68, 77, 163, *et seq.*
- EA-BANI (Creation of Ea), the satyr-like companion of the hero Gilgames, 280, etc., 283, 288, etc.
- EKIMMU (Spirit of the Dead), 109
- ERIS-KIGAL (Bride of the Pit), title of Allat, wife of Nergal, queen of the underworld, 110
- GAGA, messenger of Ansar, 300
- GIBIL, fire god, 85
- GILGAMES, hero of Chaldean national epic, whose episodes resemble those of Nimrod, lord of the city of Marad (Nin Marad), King of Erech, 277, *et seq.*
- GISKIN, sacred tree of Eridu, 75
- GIZ-ZIDA, the god of Eridu, 75

- Hathor*, Egyptian sky-goddess and of mountains, 321
- Horus*, Egyptian sun and sky god, 321
- IGIGI (spirits of heaven), 163, 168
- ISIS, Egyptian goddess, sister and wife of Osiris, 117
- ISTAR, the chief goddess of the Semites in both Babylonia and Assyria. Nearly all cities had a local Istar
- ISTAR of Erech, 279, 280
- ISTAR of Nineveh, 22, 26
- ISUM (Fever god), 272
- KHARIMAT (devotee), one of the attendant maids of Istar of Erech, 22, 280
- KHUMBABA, mythic Elamite ruler in national epic; defeated by Gilgames, 282
- KINGU (Maker of Darkness?), the spouse of Tiamat, on the Creation epic, 292, 303
- LAGMA, title of moon god of Ur (Lamech), 80
- LAKHMU and LAKHAMU, creatures in Creation epic, 297
- MAAT, Egyptian goddess of truth and law, attribute of Cosmic order, 295
- MAMA, ancient mother goddess, 274
- MARDUK, Babylonian national god, 163-258, 259, etc.; son of Ea of Eridu, but with rise of the first Babylonian dynasty assumed title of many other gods
- MESSIAH, Messianic idea in Babylonian texts, 301, 302
- Mithra*, Persian sun god, resemblance to Marduk, 302
- MULILIL, Old Bel of Sumerians (*q.v.*)
- MUMMU (Chaos), the messenger and companion of Apsu, 294
- NABU (Nebo), scribe god, 69, 139
- NAGAR (Workman), title of Lamga (Lamech), Ea, and Othir gods, who presided over arts and crafts, 81
- NAMTAR (Fate), the messenger of Allat and Eris-Kigal, 112
- NANNAR (Illumination), moon god of Ur and Kharran, 31, 81, 306
- NARU (river), god of the Holy River, 76
- Nephtys*, Egyptian *Neb het* (house lady), attendant of Osiris, 117
- NERGAL (lord of the great city), god of the dead, also of war and death, 262
- NINA, goddess of the pools and fish-ponds of the Sumerians, gives name to Nineveh, 21, 188; worshipped at Sirpurra, 125, etc.
- NINI (Lady), Sumerian name of Istar, 165, 166
- NIN-IGI-NAGIR-GID, god of mensuration, title of Ea, 69
- NINIP, god of hunting, 37
- NIN KARRAK, Sumerian goddess identified with Gala, the goddess of medicine and poison, 263
- NIN KHARSAG, lady of the mountain, very ancient Sumerian goddess, 126, 166
- NIN KURRA, lord of mountains or quarries, title of Ea, 69
- NIN MARAD, lord of Marad, title of Gilgames-Nimrod, whence name, title of kings of Rio, 122
- NIN SUGIR, sometimes read Ningirsu, local god of Sirpurra—a war god, 125, 126, etc.
- NIN ZADMIN (lord of sculpture), title of Ea, 69
- NISSABA, corn goddess, 120
- SAMAŠ (Sun), Babylonian sun god, 12, 13, 73, 165, 172, 260, 269, etc.
- SAMAŠ-NAPIŠTI (Chaldean Noah), 73, 283, 286, etc.
- SAMKHAṬ (Pleasure), attendant maid of Istar, 22, 283
- SAMSON, Hebrew solar hero, resembling Gilgames, 22, 283
- SAR-DAR-NUNA, local god of Kharran, 35
- SIN (moon god), temples at Ur and Kharran, 12, 13, 34, 35, 165, 172, 269, etc.

- SUANNA, sacred quarter of Babylon, 35  
 SUSINAK, local god of Susa, 11, 12  
 TAMMUZ, the Sumerian Dumizi, "Son of Life," the youthful sun god and god of vegetation, lover of Istar, the Adonis of Babylonia, 70, 73, 279  
 TIAMAT, the sea, the watery chaos, the mother of all the Hebrew Tehom, the dragon of the Creation epic, 275, 292, 305, etc.  
 TISKHU, a war deity, sometimes identified with Istar, 291  
 TUTU, title of Ea, afterwards assumed by Marduk and Nebo, 165, 309, etc.



## INDEX TO AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Amelineau, 88, 319<br/>         Berosus, 5, 67, 179, 264, 344, 346,<br/>         347<br/>         Bruennow, 38<br/>         Brugsch, Dr., 36<br/>         Budge, Dr., xvi, 18, 37, 40, 90, 122<br/>         Candole, De, 9, 60, 107<br/>         Cesnola, De, 39<br/>         Cheyne, xi<br/>         Clerq, De, 332<br/>         Dangin, T., 63, 100, 144, 148, 192<br/>         Driver, xi<br/>         Duncker, 344<br/>         Evans, Arthur, 47, 266<br/>         Griffith, xvi, xvii<br/>         Guyard, 39, 63<br/>         Halevy, 63<br/>         Haupt, xi, 63<br/>         Herodotus, 5, 117<br/>         Heuzey, Leon, 323<br/>         Hilprecht, Dr., 4, 63, 83, 97, 98, 112,<br/>         113, 114, 115, 120<br/>         Hommel, 63<br/>         Jastrow, 63, 64, 73, 336<br/>         Jensen, 38<br/>         Kean, 61<br/>         Kennedy, James, xxiii<br/>         Kerr Porter, 122<br/>         King, L. W., 18, 19, 25, 63, 65, 67,<br/>         70, 76, 82, 168, 178, 183, 189, 201,<br/>         275, 289, 291, 305, 307, 308, 309,<br/>         310, 314<br/>         Koldoweh, Dr., 112<br/>         Lanzoni, 107<br/>         Layard, Sir Henry, 14, 62, 63<br/>         Legge, E., 320, 323, 324<br/>         Lenormant, 63</p> | <p>Lewis, Sir G. C., 265<br/>         Loftus, 132, 175<br/>         Mackenzie, H. M., xv<br/>         Macnaghten, 207, 210, 213, 214<br/>         Morgan, M. de, 4, 9, 48, 59, 61, 88,<br/>         98, 107, 128, 183, 192, 319<br/>         Naville, M., 321, 322<br/>         Neil, Rev. I., 161<br/>         Niebuhr, 265<br/>         Oppert, 63<br/>         Perrot and Chipiez, 17, 70, 336<br/>         Petrie, Prof., 46, 59, 88, 97, 98, 104,<br/>         106, 138, 172, 319<br/>         Pinches, T., 63, 75, 183, 217<br/>         Pognon, 63<br/>         Quibell, 319<br/>         Radau, 120<br/>         Rawlinson, Sir Henry, 1, 132<br/>         Renan, xix, 73<br/>         Sarzec, De, 72, 123, 136, 144<br/>         Sayce, Prof., xv, 38, 53, 63, 75<br/>         Schiel, Dr., 10, 183, 184, 192, 332<br/>         Schweinfurt, Dr., 9, 107<br/>         Smith, George, x, 63<br/>         Smith, Robertson, vii<br/>         Steindorff, Prof., xvi<br/>         Stephanos, 180<br/>         Strabo, 60<br/>         Taylor, 71, 99, 105, 113, 330<br/>         Talquist, Dr., 87<br/>         Thompson, J. C., 65, 69, 75, 109, 268,<br/>         344<br/>         Tomkins, Rev. G., xv<br/>         Tylor, Prof., 46<br/>         Weissbach, Dr., 14<br/>         Wellhausen, xi<br/>         Xenophon, 5</p> |
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